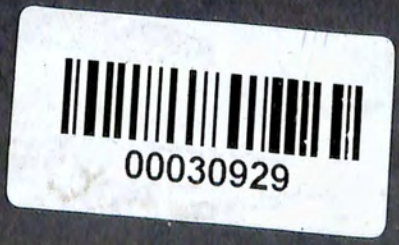
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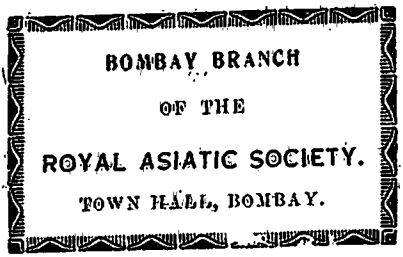

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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

EYRE EVANS CROWE.

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LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, AND ROBERTS.

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PREFACE.

SOME five-and-twenty years ago, the Author of these present volumes wrote for Dr. Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia" a Compendious History of France. The space there assigned for the work did not render the careful consultation of original sources requisite. It has ever since been his aim, and more or less the object of his study and thought, to write a History of France from the ample original materials which the care of the French Government and learned bodies have collected, and which so many of their able historic philosophers have elucidated. The First Volume of a History of France, thus composed, is now presented to the public.

Although no original narrative or document of these times has been left unconsulted by the Author, he has still refrained from multiplying references at the bottom of each page. The materials of French history, or at least of its earlier centuries, have been formed into collections, for the most part in chronological order. Each volume is amply furnished with indexes and tables of contents. And nothing can be more easy than for the student to refer to any epoch, test any opinion, or

verify any assertion, should he entertain a doubt of the correctness or good faith of the modern historian.

The Author may perhaps be taxed with presumption for undertaking what has already been achieved by several eminent writers of that country whose progress, character, and fate are to be depicted. But French history is in a great measure English history: both are bound up together, and opinions entertained respecting the one necessarily react upon the other. This renders it desirable to have a History of France written from an English point of view. We of course prefer our own institutions, our social and political organisation. Local freedom, representative government, individual rights are the Penates which we worship; whilst the French are ever ready to accept absolute monarchy provided it be glorious, or democracy provided it be energetic, and are apt to appreciate religions and institutions less for their being based on truth or conducive to general happiness, than for the efficiency with which they promote the unity and grandeur of the nation, with the regularity, power, and compactness of its government. The French and English mind are in fact placed at two different poles, and if attracting each other, do so from diversity. They proceed from different principles and arrive at opposite conclusions. Such variance need not be enmity; on the contrary, it may prove the source of mutual admiration and respect. No two individuals are born alike; and it were not to be expected or desired that

two great nations should be allowed by Providence to grow up and occupy rival eminences, for the mere sake of copying each other, or producing in the same way the same results. Each country must be a warning and a cause of reflection, not a model, to the other. And, certainly, the most interesting and useful object of study and contemplation in the world, to an Englishman, must be France,—and, to a Frenchman, must be England.

Paris: July 1858.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

ATTEMPTS TO RESUSCITATE AN EMPIRE.

THE noblest result of ages, the greatest achievement of humanity, has been to found and to produce a nation. The ancient world, with few and insignificant exceptions, only knew empires, established by arms, and maintained by force. The existence of a nation, filling the large space between obvious and well-defined frontiers, and consisting of one race, or amalgamated races, bound together by a common tongue, common interests, sympathies and habits, acknowledging the one feeling of patriotism and trusting to one government to represent and act upon the feeling—this, the state in which a society of men can attain most greatness, peace, and happiness, intellectual development and material prosperity, is a phenomenon of modern times.

Empires prevailed in antiquity, because force then dominated and formed the only principle of government or of cohesion. Mankind resembled the waves of the sea or the sands of the desert, attached to no spot, and

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subject, not to one wind or current, but to hundreds of conflicting impulses, — conquest, religion, migration, epidemy, passing over countries and destroying their very identity. Man and the soil were not wedded together. There were traditions of races and records of lands, no combined history of both.

An empire was the work of force, and of assimilation by force. Starting from a centre, conquest extended its power and influence in a circle, and carved a wide dominion which held together as long as the original force which framed it endured. A nation is not born in such wise. Conquest alone will not produce it. Nor will any amount of violence or terror knit those durable ligaments which grow into the muscle of a nation.

Regions which can answer to that name must come together by a kind of cohesion, adhering by a law of their own nature, not from any bidding of man. The swords of Cyrus and of Alexander founded the empires of those potentates; but it was not Charles the Seventh, or Richelieu, or Louis the Fourteenth, who made France, produced its nationality, and achieved its extent. The provinces between the Alps and the ocean came together, as salts do by crystallisation, at no word of command, but as soon as a fitting temperature and a favourable state of the elements to be combined rendered their amalgamation feasible.

There is no country which more completely embodies the idea of a nation than France. No other presents a whole so compact, a people so sympathetic, a power and influence so great, when rightly wielded. Whilst so homogeneous is the race, and so naturally defined its frontier, that one is induced to contemplate France as a state existing from the earliest time, and as a monarchy which at once succeeded to the Roman province of Gaul. But the truth is, that France is the youngest born, or the latest formed, of the great western nations. Whilst England and Germany each reached,

in the dark ages, their territorial development, France, split into heritages, was obliged to recommence its national formation, and with tedious difficulty pursue it through several generations.

Before this was commenced by the family of the Capets in the tenth century, two great efforts were made to found, by the blending of barbarian elements with Roman traditions, an empire in Gaul. The first of these was made towards the close of the fifth century, when the Teutonic tribes, hitherto in the military pay of Rome, advanced to conquer and divide its provinces.

They did this in divers fashions. The Burgundians and the Goths, on the Sâone and the Garonne, first imposed themselves as guests, to live at free quarters on the people,—a forced hospitality, afterwards converted into a formal division of the land. The Franks adopted a different arrangement. They overran a region, deposed its ruler, plundered houses and churches, and imposing a tribute, returned to their old camp or residence, where the army kept together around their leader or king. They styled themselves, not his officers or soldiers, but his companions and fellow warriors. They participated in all political resolves, exercised judicial authority in popular assemblies, and gave the king but a larger share of booty and of tribute. They thus preserved their Teutonic attributes, traditions, and laws, whilst Goths and Burgundians, scattering over the land, and adopting Roman magistracies, laws, and organisation, became soon assimilated to the conquered.

One immediate result of this was the superiority of the more military tribe to either Burgundian or Goth, and the consequent formation of a Frankish empire in Gaul.

The first Frank chief who showed enlarged ambition, not in the service, but in direct rivalry of Rome, was Clodovig, or Clovis. The tomb of his father, Childeric, containing the symbols of royalty, was discovered two

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centuries ago at Tournay. From this town, Clovis, towards the end of the fifth century, marched to combat Ægidius, who with his seat of government at Soissons, pretended to wield the authority of Rome over central Gaul. Clovis annihilated in battle this last vestige of the Empire, and assumed the dignity and power of him whom he had overthrown. St. Remi, then Archbishop of Rheims, and chief prelate of the region, congratulated the conqueror on the occasion, and offered him the patronage or adhesion of the Church.

A well-known anecdote records the early gratitude of Clovis, and at the same time bears witness to the independent freedom of his followers. A golden vase had been taken from the church of Rheims. The prelate claimed it of Clovis, who bade him await the distribution of the spoil at Soissons. There the king asked that the vase should be given to him over and above his lot. To this demand a rude Frank demurred, declaring the monarch should have but his share; and he struck the vase with his axe, to defeat the intention of restoring it to the Church. Clovis did not deem it prudent to resent this insult at the moment, but waited for another opportunity, when, finding the soldier's arms in a faulty state, he, apparently for this, but reminding him of the adventure of the vase, struck him to the ground.

The clergy procured Clovis's marriage with Clotilda, a princess of the Burgundian royal family, who laboured to convert her still pagan husband to Christianity. This, it is said, she did not accomplish until, in a hard-contested battle with the German Franks, at Tolbiac, near Cologne, he followed the example of Constantine, and invoked the God of the Christians. The victory which ensued, and which, eked out by several murders, rendered Clovis monarch of the Frank race, was followed by his solemn conversion,—St. Remi, as he poured on the barbarian's neck the sacred oil, exclaim-

ing, "Humble thyself, fierce Sicamber; adore what thou didst burn, and burn that which thou hast adored."

Master of the entire north, Clovis marched successively to the reduction of the Burgundians and the Goths. Both were Arians, whilst the orthodox belief was held by the clergy throughout the south. Clovis overcame the Burgundians on the Ouche, near Dijon, and defeated the Goths at the battle of Vouglé, near Poitiers,—the country north of the Garonne, and around it, submitting to him.

A rival to Clovis existed in Theodoric, the great Gothic monarch of Italy, who laboured to confederate the ultra-Rhenish Germans against him, as well as to support the Visigoths. He sent on one occasion a war-horse to the monarch of Thuringia, whilst to Clovis he made a present of a skilful harper, as if he wished to soothe his savage nature. Theodoric afterwards applied a more efficient check to the ambition of the Frank, by defeating his army engaged in the siege of Arles; thus preserving at least the coast of the Mediterranean, and keeping communications open between the Goths in Spain and those in Italy. In his conquest of the south, Clovis made the same use of the Archbishop of Tours which in the north he had made of the prelate of Rheims; and the clergy opened to him the gates of every town. All that the Franks seemed to ask of the region, independent of immediate plunder, was tribute; and this, no doubt, the clergy willingly paid to an absent chief who maintained their authority. Clovis's conquests south of the Loire did not amount to more than this, even sanctioned as they appeared to be by the ensigns of the consular dignity, which were despatched to him by the Emperor Anastasius, and with which he caused himself to be invested at Tours. His hold of Burgundy was still more slight than his supremacy over Aquitaine,—princes of the old

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Burgundian family surviving and reigning, at times paying, at times refusing, tribute to the King of France.

Clovis died in 511, five years after his victory of Vouglé. Advanced as were his ideas of empire, he could not bequeath it to any one son; so identified as yet was sovereignty with property, and no political reasons interfering to prevent its division. His four sons had their respective capitals as follows: at Metz, Soissons, Paris, and Orleans. All followed the policy of their sire, and employed their leaders and followers in expeditions towards the south, either against Burgundians or Goths, and always with the aim more of plunder and tribute than of conquest to be followed by occupation. Theuderich, or Thierry, the more eastern of the monarchs, extended his empire beyond the Rhine, reduced Thuringia, and then pushed his conquests in the direction of Burgundy and Auvergne. Theuderich, of the Frank kings, was he who had the largest following and most formidable armies; and to him, accordingly, Goth and Roman addressed themselves for aid. Theodoric was no more. The Greek emperor had undertaken to reconquer Italy. Theuderic first, and then his son Theudebert, were besought to lead armies across the Alps. The latter did so; and the result made him so conscious of military superiority, that he proposed marching by land to Constantinople, and establishing there the ascendancy of his race. He went no further than the Venetian territory, where sickness cut short his ambitious march. His son Theudebald succeeded, during whose youth two dukes of the German Franks led large armies into Italy, to the encounter of Narses. The greater portion perished, as did the royal race of Theuderic. And towards the middle of the century, Clothaire became monarch of the Frank race from the borders of Brittany to the banks of the German Saale.

From Clovis to Clothaire the Franks maintained their old habits as soldiers, and their ambition as plunderers,

if not conquerors; but as years progressed, the leaders began more and more to settle on the land, or to scatter into towns. War was no longer profitable. The south had been plundered again and again. Expeditions across the Alps or beyond the Rhine, proved alike unfortunate. One of the first acts of Clothaire was to lead the German Frank against a certain portion of the Saxon, who had accepted lands in Thuringia. At the sight of the army which marched against them, the Saxons offered half their goods and valuables. But the Franks would have all, and compelled Clothaire to fight. The result was, that he and they were beaten. An edict exists, issued by Clothaire, intended to correct the arbitrary conduct of judges and tax-gatherers. He ordains that heirs should succeed to their property, notwithstanding any order or interference of those in power, that the rent and tithes which the public officers had a right to collect should not be levied on Church property, and that thirty years' possession of land be sufficient to secure it, whether to the Church or to individuals. It was probably addressed to Western France, and evinces the existence of Roman ideas and principles of government, as well as an increase of ecclesiastical authority. One of its orders is, that if a provincial judge gave sentence against law, he was to be punished (*castigetur*) by the bishop. At the same time the rule of St. Benedict for incorporating monks, and subjecting them to order and discipline, penetrated into France. St. Benedict was the cotemporary of Clovis. His giving rules and organisation to the monks, and his enjoining the practice of agriculture by them, enabled those associations to acquire land and to cultivate it. As the cultivators of all other lands were either slaves or else subject, as in Roman times, to the vexation of the fisc, monastic establishments became the only rustic ones enjoying prosperity and capable of amassing wealth. No wonder that they increased.

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Whilst Roman ideas and sacerdotal influence thus absorbed German traditions in the west of France, in the east the struggle between the two principles continued. One of the sons of Clothaire, Sigebert, came to reign in the east, which began to be called *Osterreich*, Latinised, (Austrasia); another, called Chilperic, raised his power in the west, or in Neustria, as it soon was styled. Another, Gontram, reigned in Burgundy. Sigebert and Gontram were both menaced, the first by the Avars, a Hunnish tribe, the latter by the Lombards, then rising in audacity and power. Both Frank kings were triumphant over their foes, and consolidated the military force of their realms in these warlike efforts. Burgundy was already Roman in its tendencies and administration; and the Austrasian court, which had removed to Metz as its capital, underwent the same ascendancy, when Sigebert took to wife Brunehild, daughter of the Gothic monarch of Spain.

Under her influence Sigebert formed a court, and established in it an *aula*, or school, as well as a seat of judicature, where the Roman tongue, learning, and laws were cultivated, and which found a poet in Fortunatus, afterwards Bishop of Poitiers. The great difficulty in Austrasia was to collect a public or a royal revenue. In Burgundy or Neustria this was derived from taxing citizens as well as the land unowned by Frank or Salian, and making the whole of the Gallo-Roman population contribute. In Austrasia there was no such class. Towns throughout the region had been devastated or destroyed. A Frank aristocracy and their dependents, German also, formed the entire population. The only resource lay in the large extent of lands which had devolved to the crown, and of which it was in the habit of making life-grants. As long as the holders of these fisc-lands, or benefices, joined yearly in military expeditions, they made thereby sufficient returns to the king, and the plunder acquired in suc-

cessful war remunerated both. But when military expeditions became unprofitable and rare, the crown looked to levy rent, in the shape of tenths, from such fisc-land. The aristocracy, to whom the grants had been made, resisted those demands, as well as the resumption of the land itself at the death of each holder.

Such were apparently the causes and nature of the quarrel between Brunehild and the Austrasian noblesse. Governors of provinces were named in the person of functionaries bred in the royal school and imbued with its ideas; and their administration led to continual feuds. At the same time sprung up in Austrasia a magistrate, whose origin and duties have been much disputed. He was called the *Major Domûs*, and has been regarded by some writers as a functionary of German origin, the name, too, one of German derivation; but his duties and his office were alike foreign to Teutonic ideas, and unknown to the barbaric codes. The Major Domus was an officer of Roman origin, answering to the Count of the Palace and of the Domestics at Constantinople and at Rome.* He was the manager of the fisc-lands, the leader of those who owed military service to the king, and the judge not only of all that concerned the royal fisc, but of all who belonged to the royal household, or who were assimilated to such by antrustionship, and being under the royal *mundeburd*.

According to the early barbaric codes, all judicial power was exercised by the people themselves, in *mallum*, or periodical assembly. But as an aristocracy arose in the person of the *leudes*, these withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of the *mallum*, and acknowledged no judge or judicial superior but the king. This was a great cause of the increase of the royal autho-

* "Ad Palatinorum curam, et Rationalium officia, omnium rerum nostrarum, et totius perpetuarii, hoc est, emphyteuticarii juris exactio revertatur."—*Codicis* lib. i. tit. 34.

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rity. The Major Domus was chosen to represent the king and fulfil the functions of judge in such cases; and he inflicted at times, it appears, capital punishments. But a powerful aristocracy could submit for no lengthened time to such a jurisdiction. They soon shook off the fiscal and judicial tyranny by rebellion, and by insisting that the Major Domus should be of their selection and class. At last, no authority being equal to pass judgment upon warriors proud of their independence, single combat was substituted for nobles, and more vulgar ordeals were used for warriors and men of low degree. The clergy, who multiplied miracles, and preached the doctrine of the daily intervention of the Deity in worldly affairs, promoted a mode of trial which gave them such opportunities of interference and means of power. And justice as well as every manly virtue was prostrated before the idols of superstition.

Sigebert during his life kept down the turbulence of the Austrasian grandees, although their frowardness was supported by Chilperic, the King of Neustria, and his wife Fredegonde. It thus happened that the Romanising spirit of the Queen of Austrasia was checked, not aided, by that region where Roman ideas most prevailed. Female rivalry predominated over interest. Fredegonde at last caused the assassination of Sigebert, at the very moment that he was about to triumph over Neustria. In the anarchy which followed, the functionary noblesse of Sigebert fled; but the rude aristocracy themselves felt the necessity of these administrators, and by the advice of Chrodinus, the wisest and most influential of their party, they agreed to appoint Gogo, one of Sigebert's ministers, to be Major Domus. And Chrodinus set the example of obedience, by placing Gogo's *bracile* or armlet round his own neck.

The Austrasian noblesse and Brunehild afterwards resumed their quarrel, with its pristine inveteracy,

and with alternating fortunes. Brunehild, in the name of her son Childebert, who inherited Burgundy as well as Austrasia, for a time retained her ascendancy, and made use of the Burgundians to awe the Austrasians. When two sons of Childebert succeeded each to one of these kingdoms, she invaded Austrasia, and defeated the army of the prince of that region. Whilst pursuing these to the Rhine with her son Theodoric of Burgundy, they were met by Leonisius, bishop of Mayence. The advice of the prelate was, that they should spare none, all the people of that region being hostile to the Church and to Roman ideas. Theodoric, however, died in the midst of his triumph; and Brunehild, deserted even by the Burgundians, fell into the power of her enemies, and suffered cruel torture and death at their hands.

The extinction of the first Austrasian family, and of their spirited queen Brunehild, took place in 613, when Clotaire the Second succeeded to the Frank empire. An early Capitulary of his provided against the exorbitance of any new tax or census, and against bishops appointing their own successors. In 622, Clotaire gave the Austrasians his son Dagobert to be their prince. What they stood in need of was a military leader; for the Slavons had advanced, their Sorabic tribes over the Elbe, the Wenden over the Saale. The latter had formed a kingdom under Samo, and had shaken off the yoke of the Avars, when Dagobert, who succeeded to the Frank empire in 628, demanded of them submission or reparation. Dagobert commenced his reign with power and haughtiness: south, west, and east obeyed him. Everywhere he humbled the aristocracy, enforced taxation and Roman laws, and was more an emperor than a Frank king. With this the Austrasians especially were discontented; and they showed their remissness in the war with the Slavons. Dagobert, in consequence, appointed his young son Sigebert to be ruler of Austrasia,

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under the tutelage of a duke and a bishop. The duke was not Pepin, that Austrasian magnate being kept with the king's court at Clichy. Dagobert was the first and last of the Merovingians who fully asserted and enjoyed regal power over the whole land of France. Gascons and Bretons both acknowledged his sovereignty; and even the Austrasian nobles humbled their pretensions.

But at his death Neustria and Austrasia again fell asunder; and the Merovingian princes showing no spirit, power in each kingdom became concentrated in the Major Domus. The office, in Austrasia, was seized by Grimoald and Pepin, the chief family of the territorial noblesse, whilst in Neustria the long reign of the functionary class allowed them to preserve power with the support of the clergy and the people. The first of these mayors conciliated the nobles by restoring to them or their progeny the lands which Dagobert had claimed and united to his fisc. But in time a fierce and uncompromising representative of popular interests and Roman laws, Ebroin, assumed power in Neustria, and found a natural antagonist in a Pepin, who represented German ideas and traditions, and headed the aristocratic party in Austrasia.

In 680, East and West France, thus antagonistic in tendency and principle, and marshalled against each other, fought a furious battle at Loixi, near Laon, in which the Austrasians were defeated, and after which Martin, the brother of Pepin, was slain by Ebroin. But Ebroin himself perished subsequently, by the hand of an assassin; and the Austrasians had breathing-time to recover from their defeat. The rival principles were thus strengthened in the two countries. The family of Pepin and its chief, however wealthy and powerful, took no measure, and promulgated no decree, without summoning the Franks to council, consulting them, and acting in their name. Ebroin, on the contrary, forbade the Neustrian and Burgundian nobles, under heavy

penalties, from even presenting themselves at the king's residence or palace. In 687 the Austrasians, having recovered from their defeat, marched under Pepin to try once more the chance of war with Neustria. The armies met at the villa of Testri, near St. Quentin. The Neustrians, though more numerous, were defeated; and Pepin, pursuing the king, took him captive in Paris.

The reign of the Merovingians here virtually closed, although their names were affixed to charters, and although they themselves were brought in a chariot drawn by oxen to the annual meetings of the Franks. Pepin, the conqueror of Testri, inherited, by his mother Begga, the wealth and renown of the old Austrasian mayors of the first house of Pepin. His father was the son of St. Arnulph, Bishop of Metz, who had been bred in the school of Brunehild, and who had governed several provinces for her. Pepin of Heristal thus inherited the wealth and dignity of the old Austrasian noble, with the wisdom of the educated and functionary class. He was also strongly impressed with religious ideas by his mother, and inspired with that ardent enmity to paganism which distinguished him. Neustria once subdued, the quarter of a century during which Pepin subsequently reigned was spent by him in yearly expeditions over the Rhine, chiefly against the Frisons and the Alemans. Radbod the Frison gave most trouble, and required all Pepin's efforts during a long reign to reduce.

The important result was less, perhaps, the conquest of the regions north of the Rhine, than the training of the eastern Franks to a regular spring meeting in arms, followed by a military expedition. During the reign of Pepin of Heristal, these expeditions were almost exclusively directed beyond the Rhine. For he ruled Neustria with an easy yoke, leaving its churchmen and its Major Domus liberty to govern after their fashion. Beyond the Loire, Pepin never marched. He had not the

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ambition to reconquer the old empire of Clovis; and Aquitaine under Eudes became almost independent at this epoch.

The German principle, and the cause of an aristocracy free and independent, was confined to Austrasia, which had at the same time to defend itself against the Roman and ecclesiastical system prevailing in west and south, and against the other extreme of German barbarism and paganism beyond the Rhine. Yet it was in this narrow, this menaced and semicivilised region of Eastern France, that were then concentrated the hopes of European independence, and the germs of a European future.

In Pepin's reign, during the first years of the eighth century, the Saracens, who had overrun Africa, poured over the Straits into Spain. The Romanised Goths were unable to offer any effectual resistance; and the Arab inundation took but a few years, from its inpouring on the south, till it rose like a tide and swept over the Pyrenees. On their first invasion of Gaul, the Saracens received a severe check from Eudes at the head of his Aquitans; but it was manifest that, when the lieutenants of the Khalif came in force, the military organisation of the south, emasculated by civic habits and the prevalence of purely ecclesiastical ideas, could offer no effectual resistance to the Moslem armies.

What Europe and the age required, was a hero and a genius at the head of German France. Both were found in Charles Martel, son of Pepin of Heristal by a pagan mother, but set aside and kept in captivity, as averse to the ecclesiastical tendencies of Pepin. The son whom that great mayor had destined to be his successor was an infant. The Neustrians took advantage of his nonage to overrun Austrasia to the Rhine, the Frisons and Saxons, by agreement, advancing to the opposite bank, and pillaging Cologne. In the confusion young Charles escaped from captivity, rallied the soldiers of his father, first surprised the Neustrians in the Ardennes, depriving

them of their booty, and at a later period, in 717, fought with them a battle at Vincy, near Cambray. Hilperic the Neustrian king, and Ragenfried his mayor, came, says the annalist of Metz, "with an innumerable but mixed and vulgar army, Charles with a more disciplined and veteran force." The Neustrians were defeated. Their king and major domus had recourse for aid to Eudes of Aquitaine; and this duke answered the call in the following year. But when Charles Martel appeared, the Aquitans fled, and were pursued by him to Orleans. He did not then find it necessary to pass the Loire, Eudes making submission and giving up the Neustrian king.

Charles Martel profited by his victory to extend, to the countries on the Seine and the Loire, that system of land-tenure and military service which had grown up towards the Rhine. The condition and habits of the Franks had much changed from what they had been two hundred years previous, under Clovis. Every Frank was then a soldier, combating on foot, needing no followers, and scorning Gallic or Roman auxiliaries. But in two hundred years an aristocracy had grown up, consisting of landed proprietors, who came to council and proceeded to war on horseback, each with a certain retinue. This aristocracy, as it rose, was always at strife with the sovereigns of Roman pretensions, from Brunehild to Dagobert. They ended by remaining masters, and finding the active pretensions of royalty incompatible with their dignity and rights, they maintained a major domus at the head of affairs, whom they treated and considered as the first of their class. Austrasia came to form a kind of aristocratic republic. Its dukes, or majores domus, however, realised in their own families those hereditary rights which the Austrasian aristocracy claimed as their property, and by intermarriage, as well as by the appropriation of crown and church lands, becoming immediate lords of vast domains,

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let them out in benefices to such valiant soldiers, as flocked to them especially from beyond the Rhine. These beneficiaries formed the army of the first Austrasian mayors; and to swell it to a national or a provincial army they courted the aristocracy, called them to council, and from the council field marched with them to war. These circumstances soon made princes of the Pepins and the Charles; Teutonic, however, not Roman princes, ruling with the consent of the nobles and the support of the people, not maintaining their individual power by exciting the antagonism of both.

In Neustria the social condition was different. Civic organisation and supremacy there prevailed. The count, of regal nomination, was the chief local authority. And he summoned, not yearly, but only upon great occasions, the beneficiaries or holders of fisc lands, together with the civic population, to arms. Hence the Neustrian forces are styled a rabble, whilst the Austrasians already assume the aspect of a body of knights. The victories of Charles Martel placed at his disposal large tracts of crown, as well as confiscated land. To these he unscrupulously added the greater portion of the church property, which he divided amongst his German followers, as military fiefs. Thus did Charles Martel form and feed that great cavalry army, with which a few years later, in 732, he marched to the encounter of the Saracens at Poictiers, and with which he rode down their light squadrons, freeing France gallantly and effectually from the dangers of Mussulman conquest.

Aquitaine and the south of France thus passed under Frank domination, and by the best of titles, its inability to defend itself, whilst the Frank proved equal to the task. The cities and priesthood of the south, however, did not like the supremacy of Charles Martel. Some of them would have even preferred the Arabs. They opposed their walls, and in some instances their fortifications, to the Austrasian cavalry. Charles avenged

such resistance by battering their ramparts to the ground, from whence he gained his epithet of Martel, or the Hammer. Amongst the civic strongholds which defied him, was the famous Arena or Circus of Nismes, which still bears the proofs of his devastating hand. But Charles did not proscribe or destroy local dukes. He left Eudes at first, and after him his son Hunald, with that dignity in Aquitaine, on the condition of paying homage. Charles Martel was indeed the friend and founder of a princely aristocracy. Although several of his successors laboured to undermine and destroy these great provincial chiefs, which had sprung up beneath his reign, they survived all the imperial efforts to level and subdue them, and became the elements of future feudalism.

With equal alacrity and success did Charles turn his arms against the nations beyond the Rhine, and extend his conquests over Frison and Slavon. Nor did he disdain to consolidate his empire in these regions by the aid of religion, whilst diminishing the influence and weeding the growth of sacerdotalism in the south. In previous times, it was the Celtic Church of Ireland that despatched its holy men to astound the Gallo-Franks and Germans by their asceticism and privations. St. Columban and St. Gall were the monastic heroes of the Merovingian period. But these Celtic missionaries were ill fitted to the task of converting the Germans, from not understanding their tongue. Anglo-Saxon missionaries therefore took their place, and penetrated boldly into the countries beyond the Saale and Elbe, their efforts being too often crowned with martyrdom. St. Willebrod had well nigh succeeded in converting Radbod, until the Frison chief bethought him of asking, where were the souls of his ancestors? "In hell," replied the uncompromising Willebrod. "In that case," rejoined the Frison chief, turning from the baptismal rite, "I have no wish to go where they are not."

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The saint had more success afterwards, and installed himself Bishop of Utrecht. He was succeeded by a missionary of more eminence and of more political ideas. This was Winfred or Boniface, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who was not satisfied with episcopal succession under the mere patronage of the mayor of Austrasia. He went to Rome to seek higher sanction. This Pope Gregory gave him, consecrating him to be bishop, and under a new form. The prelates of Italy, when consecrated by the metropolitan of Rome, took an oath of allegiance to the Eastern emperor. Pope Gregory now suppressed that oath, replacing it by one of allegiance to himself. Boniface, thus armed, returned to found the German church, directly connected like the Anglo-Saxon with Rome, and to establish himself as metropolitan of Mayntz. Beyond the Rhine, Paganism was the bond and the symbol of those who rejected Frank supremacy, the cross, that of the Germans who admitted it. Charles Martel therefore lent Boniface every assistance for forming a territorial church in Central Germany, little as he patronised, in other regions, the prevalence of the priesthood. A little before Charles's death, which took place in 741, ambassadors from Pope Gregory arrived, formally offering to transfer to Charles Martel the imperial supremacy, which the Eastern Emperor still enjoyed in Italy. Charles sent ambassadors to Rome to inquire into the nature of an offer, which probably he did not fully understand.

It is impossible to mistake the tendency of people and provinces at this time to separate and to settle into distinct states under local princes. This it was after which Neustria, Austrasia, Gascony, and Bavaria struggled. Obstacles started up to prevent, or at least adjourn, the fulfilment of these desires. The principal obstacle was the menacing power of the barbarous and anti-christian tribes, who had acquired the faculty of associating their strength, and of pouring vast hordes into civilised and Christian countries. Such superiority of numbers was

shown by the Arabs, the Saxons, the Avars. There was an absolute necessity of uniting the Christian world of Europe against them. And this the Carlovingians did.

The other obstacle to the separation of Western Europe into smaller and feudal states, was the rising pretensions and resuscitated imperialism of the popes, to whom the Emperor of the East had become a burden and a spoiler, as well as an unwelcome reformer, bent on the destruction of images, and the simplifying of worship. The pontiffs therefore sought for a more congenial Emperor in the West; and they looked farther than Italy to find him, a feudal and local aristocracy, like that of the Lombards, being odious to the Holy See, as rivals of a local and enemies of an imperial church. The victor of Poictiers seemed in every respect to answer pontifical desires.

Charles Martel, however, showed no alacrity to listen to papal suggestions. Archbishop Boniface was anxious to organise German ecclesiasticity so as to replace warlike dukes by prelate lords, and to have yearly synods and gatherings of churchmen, as well as a Champ de Mai of warriors. Boniface was not able to carry these plans into execution till Charles Martel's death. Carloman, the eldest son of that prince, having retired to a cloister, Pepin the Bref, his second son, succeeded to the Frank monarchy, and he made the church his counsellor. He crushed the local dukes, reduced Hunald of Aquitaine, and Tassilo of Bavaria, and at last besought Pope Zachary, no doubt on Boniface's suggestion, to sanction the deposition of the do-nothing Merovingians, and ordain his own coronation as king. Pope Zachary was ready with the reply, that the major domus, who had so long wielded the sovereign power, should also have the title. Hilderic was therefore formally deposed, and about mid-century, 752, Pepin was crowned King of France at Sōissons, by the hand of Archbishop Boniface.

The new monarch soon enhanced the royal dignity

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by many victories. A south German league of Suabia and Bavaria defied him first, and was overcome by him in a sanguinary battle on the Leck. Similar frowardness of the Saxon brought the arms of Pepin to the Weser. The west and south of France, perceiving that Pepin was not, like Charles Martel, content with nominal submission, but bent on imposing a kind of imperial supremacy, made resistance. He was thus compelled to march into remote Brittany and reduce that hitherto independent region. The Aquitans endeavoured to hold their ground under Duke Waifer, and had recourse to their old mode of defence, their castles, afterwards adopted by the feudal chiefs of central France against Normans and Hungarians. The means of attack were, however, as yet more powerful, at least in Pepin's hands, than those of defence; and he levelled their castles, reserving that of Fronsac on the Dordogne, which he fortified and garrisoned himself.

The extension of the military ascendancy of the Frank monarch across the Alps and over Italy, was a more important achievement. About two years after Pepin's coronation Pope Zachary expired, and was succeeded by Stephen the Second. On this occasion Aistulph, the Lombard king, claimed from the Romans a tribute of a golden *solidus*, or *sou* a head. The Frank had, no doubt, oftentimes claimed similar tribute from the churches of Aquitaine. But the Pope had need of his every resource, being menaced by the Saracens in the south, whilst mulcted by the Lombard in the north. Pope Stephen applied at first, and probably for form's sake, to Constantinople. Receiving no satisfactory reply, he had recourse to Pepin, who despatched a duke and a bishop to Rome. These envoys found the Lombards in possession of many towns approaching the great city. Stephen, having welcomed the ambassadors, thought best to return with them to France; but first repaired to Aistulph's court at Pavia to entreat his

forbearance and the restoration of the towns he had taken. The Lombard evaded the demand and the Pope crossed the Alps. He was met, as he descended from them, by Charles, the son of Pepin, the future Charlemagne, who conducted him by slow journeys to St. Denis. Pepin was reluctant to engage in so remote a war. He offered to pay the Lombard many thousand *solidi*, if he would desist from claiming tribute of the Pope: Aistulph declined, and Pepin marched against him. The Lombard adopted the Aquitanic mode of warfare, and tried to fortify the *cluses*, or passes, of the Alps. Foiled in this, he shut himself up in Pavia. Finding he could not defend it, he made terms, offering full restitution to the Pope, and pecuniary indemnity to Pepin. No sooner, however, had the latter returned to France, than he learned not only the refusal of the Lombard to execute the treaty, but that he had even marched to lay siege to Rome. The spring of 754 accordingly brought Pepin once more over the Alps, and before Pavia, with the same result. Aistulph submitted, and upon still harder conditions. Two legates from Constantinople made their appearance at this juncture to claim Ravenna and the Exarchate. But Pepin replied that he had crossed the Alps not in the interest of the Eastern emperor, but in that of St. Peter. Singular to say, Stephen had written a letter to Pepin in the name of the Apostle, who was thus made to come forward as a personal suppliant. The device answered its purpose, for the pious Pepin presented St. Peter or his representative with the Exarchate and all the imperial possessions in Italy. The gift was indeed more embarrassing than profitable at first; for the pontiff had no troops to garrison or force to defend them, which Ravenna, exposed to the attack of the Greeks from sea, stood especially in need of. And as the Franks withdrew their army, the Pope could do no better than entrust Ravenna to the Lombards.

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A new king Didier, or Desiderius, came to reign over that people. He had sought the aid of the Pope to attain his elevation. He promised in return to be a protector to the Church. But the Pope found it necessary to seek once more Pepin's protection and interference. His envoys reaching Paris in the autumn of 768, found that Pepin had just expired.

In the division of the empire between the sons of Pepin, as in that which took place between those of Charles Martel, a distinction was made between those territories which were immediately under Frankish rule, and those which obeyed native dukes. Such were Bavaria and Aquitaine. Whilst the sons of Charles Martel parcelled out Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy amongst them, they joined their forces, when marching into Aquitaine or Bavaria, of which they no doubt shared the homage and the tribute. The kind of partition, which took place between the sons of Pepin may be judged from the circumstance of the elder, Charles, being crowned at Noyon, whilst he passed his first Christmas at Aix, and his first Easter at Rouen. His younger brother Carloman was crowned at Soissons, and afterwards died at a villa near Rheims, whilst his chief residence and possessions were in Burgundy. Charles in fact was monarch of the Frank and German *leudes* and beneficiaries, Carloman of the Gallo-Roman, or the Latin.

Hunald of Aquitaine refusing the amount of submission that Charles demanded, the latter summoned his brother Carloman, in order that they should make a joint expedition against the froward duke. But Carloman's Burgundian barons (*barones*) did not like to second the Austrasians in crushing the south. They deserted the expedition, and Charles was obliged to prosecute the war alone against Hunald. This he did with effect, driving him behind the Garonne, and compelling Lupo, Duke of Gascony, to deliver up the

fugitive. Charles repaired the Frank fortress of Fronsac on the Dordogne, thus inaugurating his reign with victory.

The feud, that threatened to arise between the brothers, was appeased by their mother Bertha, who exerted herself and took long journeys to reconcile not only her sons with each other but both of them with the King of Lombardy, and the Duke of Bavaria. Rome had fallen into horrible confusion, owing in a great measure to the conduct of Pepin, who had broken the power of the Lombards, yet substituted in their stead no other power over the Roman territory. The consequence was that some barons of the vicinity got possession of Rome, and caused a creature of their own to be elevated to the popedom. Some of the churchmen, indignant at this, sought the aid, not of the remote Frank sovereign, but of Didier King of the Lombards. Didier gave directions to his feudatories to march upon Rome and to aid Christopher and Sergius, the churchmen who had had recourse to him, to remove the intrusive Pope. This was accomplished; and Stephen the Third became Pontiff. A letter exists written by Stephen soon after his accession, to complain that the Frank party in Rome was hostile to him, and that Christopher and Sergius, the chiefs of the party, with Dodo the envoy of Carloman, had sought to kill the Pope, who was only saved by the intervention of Didier. When such was the intelligence which reached Charles from Rome, it is not surprising that he listened to the advice of his mother Bertha, and consented to espouse the daughter of Desiderius, leaving Italy to Lombard patronage. The marriage indeed had been scarcely decided, when a very different letter arrived from Pope Stephen denouncing the alliance as profane, the Lombard race as leprous, and marriage with it a crime. Charles paid little attention to a Pope so fickle. Stephen the Third, therefore, was left to struggle between the Frank

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party, represented by Christopher and Sergius, and the Lombard faction, represented by Paul Affiarta, one of the chamberlains. In the absence of the Franks, and the division of their empire, the latter had of course the advantage, and on an occasion when Desiderius came in arms to Rome, he caused Christopher and Sergius to be seized and their eyes put out.

Several concurrent events, however, soon restored Frank interest and influence in Italy. Carloman expired towards the close of 771, and Charles was by universal acclamation hailed sole king of the race, Carloman's widow and young son flying to the Lombard court, where they were well received. About the same time, Charles took a dislike to his Lombard wife, and sent her back to her friends. Pope Stephen died, and the church party brought about the election of Adrian, a spirited pontiff, who was a decided enemy of the Lombards. The first act of the new pope was to cause Paul Affiarta to be put to death. And when Didier marched to Rome, to avenge the murder, the pope manned the walls, and sent an embassy to Charles, praying to be delivered from the tyranny of the Lombards.

Charles devoted the summer of 772 to his first expedition against the Saxons, in which he took their stronghold of Æresburg, and burned their great idol, the Irmensul. But in the ensuing year, he obeyed the call of Adrian, summoned his *Champ de Mai** at Geneva, and marched himself over the Mont Cenis, whilst his uncle Bernard marched, it is said, over the mountain which bears his name, to take the Lombards in the rear. Didier shut himself up in Pavia. But Charles turned his first efforts against Verona, and suc-

* When the Franks fought on foot, they mustered for their annual expedition in March, and their meeting was a *Champ de Mars*. When they began to war on horseback, it was necessary to fix the time of meeting later, in order that forage might be found; and hence the meeting became a *Champ de Mai*.

ceeded in capturing there the widow and children of his brother Carloman. He then returned to invest Pavia. Didier was better prepared than his predecessor to stand a siege, which was accordingly protracted through the winter months. Charles took advantage of the delay to visit Rome. He was received with the greatest pomp, the pontiff awaiting him at the porch of St. Peter's. Each day was marked by some festal solemnity. It was not till the fourth day that Adrian reminded Charles of Pepin's donation of the Exarchate. Charles immediately ordered his chaplain to draw up a fresh deed of gift, much more ample, as it is recorded, than that of Pepin.* This large endowment of the church was completed by the capture of the Lombard king in Pavia, and his subsequent captivity.

What the popes aimed at was for that time an impossibility. They laboured to erect a purely moral power in an age of universal violence, without its being protected or upheld by any military organisation or force. Lombard support the popes spurned, because the Lombard made use of his influence to despoil churches, and appoint prelates. The Franks were more reverent; but their power was too remote to awe the great nobles, who were already beginning to divide Italy. Charles left many of the Lombard dukes in possession of their duchies. Hildebrand of Spoleto seems to have accepted his under the suzerainty of the pope. But how could the pontiff maintain authority over those military chieftains, when he was unable to command the obedience of his own clergy? In the very year of Charlemagne's visit to Rome, Adrian writes to

* The following is the outline drawn by Anastasius: —

"Sicut in eadem donatione continere mostrata, id est, a Lunis cum insula Corsica deinde in Suriano, deinde in Monte Bardone, id est in Verceto, deinde in Parma, deinde in Rhegio, et exinde in Mantua atque monte Silicis simulque et universum Exarchatum Ravennatium, sicut antiquitus erat, atque Provincias Venetiarum et Histriæ, necnon et cunctum Ducatum Spoletinum et Beneventanum."

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complain of Leo Archbishop of Ravenna, that he kept the towns of Romagna, maintained his own authority in them, and appointed judges independent of the Roman see.*

The early policy of Charlemagne was to leave the dukes the authority they had acquired, and thus to favour the rise of the great princely aristocracy. But as the ideas of imperialism became developed in his government, and when he proposed erecting kingdoms for his sons, he removed and destroyed dukes altogether, rendered their appointment temporary, and, at the same time, diminished their authority. For this reason, he caused Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, to be formally condemned in a solemn assembly, and abolished the dukedom altogether. That of Aquitaine was on a subsequent occasion, and for the same cause, abolished. Latterly, he limited the dukes to a mere military command, sending *missi* into the different provinces to hold courts or assemblies of justice, and, at the same time, to administer the imperial property in fisc lands. The revenue of Charlemagne chiefly consisted of judicial fines, and of the revenue of estates belonging to the crown. Both these revenues the *missi* were charged with collecting. There are several letters written by Pope Leo the Third, complaining that the imperial *missi*, instead of allowing the papal dukes to collect the revenue, carried it off themselves, paying no respect to the papal authority or presence. It is evident, indeed, from these letters, that whatever the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Exarchate given to the popes, Charlemagne retained in his own hands, or in those of his officers, the judicial authority, and the fiscal rights of a temporal sovereign.

The most serious military efforts of Charlemagne were directed towards Germany, where not one, but

* So that people said, "Quod vobis profuit, quod Longobarda gens, est oblita et regno Francorum subjugata."

many pagan races displayed a valour so obstinate and an enthusiasm so indomitable, that it required all the genius of the Frank chieftain to save Christian Europe from another barbarian subjugation. The most formidable were the Pagan Saxons, who, under Witikind, stood forth to recommence the struggle, which their ancestors, under Arminius, had waged with the civilisation of Rome. Charles easily overran their territory with his armies, and thought he had definitively reduced them when, in 775, they assembled at Paderborn, and consented to receive baptism. In the following year he accordingly undertook his expedition beyond the Pyrenees, famous for his defeat at Roncevaux, and the death of Roland, Count of the Breton frontier. Witikind had seized the opportunity to raise again the standard of Saxon paganism, and to ravage eastern France to the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle. The local forces of Frank and Aleman could but observe the enemy until the return of Charles himself. In this manner the war continued, Witikind flying to Sigfried King of Denmark when hard pressed, but returning to raise his countrymen whenever an opportunity offered. Even half subdued as Saxony was, the Frank counts who ruled it were driven to hostilities with the Slavons beyond the Elbe. When engaged in an expedition of this kind they were surprised by Witikind, and two generals, or *missi*, with four counts and twenty nobles, slain. The ire of Charlemagne was raised by this disaster, and he caused nearly 5000 Saxons to be beheaded. This, in turn, exasperated the whole race, and it united to make a desperate stand in 783, fighting two battles, at Theotmel and on the Hase, in the same month, and suffering a double defeat, from which the national spirit never recovered. Charlemagne sent some thousands to France, and replaced them with his own Austrasians. And although the Saxons did not altogether remain quiet, still Witikind himself was baptized two

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years later, and Saint Willehad was enabled to install himself Bishop of Bremen.

When Tassilo Duke of Bavaria was defeated and condemned, and when the Lombard duchy of Aquileia equally made part of Charlemagne's empire, this potentate found his frontier bordering upon that of the Huns, who were wont to be formidable, but who seemed reposing in the midst of wealth, gathered from the plunder of Europe. They were thus a tempting prey, and Charlemagne directed, in several campaigns, the forces of the Dukes of Aquileia and of Lombardy against them. The Huns resisted for eight years the overwhelming force that fell upon them, and which ravaged their country. The chiefs of the two contiguous provinces, Aquileia and Bavaria, fell in battle with them. But at last Eric, who had succeeded in the dukedom of Aquileia, penetrated to the famous Ring, killed the Chagan, and took away more wealth and plunder than any war had produced.

A portion of these spoils Charlemagne despatched to Rome, where a new pope, Leo, had succeeded Adrian. The Romans being dissatisfied at his elevation, the pontiff, during a solemn procession, was waylaid and grievously maltreated. Report said that his tongue had been cut out and that in this state he had been rescued by the Duke of Spoleto. However, when he was brought into a neighbouring monastery, a miracle was performed in the restoration of his tongue. In the year 800, Charlemagne proceeded to Rome, for the avowed purpose of judging of the validity of the complaints against the pontiff. As he permitted Leo to disprove the accusation by a solemn oath of compurgation, his innocence was soon made clear: and Leo, in gratitude, and, no doubt, from a preconcerted plan, took the opportunity of a solemn ceremony at St. Peter's to place a crown upon the head of Charlemagne, and salute him with the cry, which the people echoed, of "Carolo

Augusto, a Deo coronata magno, et pacifico Imperatore Romanorum, vita et victoria." In subsequent acts and letters, the Pope replaced the title of "Patricius," hitherto applied to Charlemagne, by that of "Imperator" and "Augustus."

Eginhard, the friend and intimate of Charlemagne, records a frequent assertion of the monarch, that had he been aware of the Pope's design to crown him Emperor, he would not have entered the cathedral. Whilst bent upon extending dominion and establishing ascendancy no less than imperial, he still was aware that the source of his power was essentially Frank and Teutonic. He therefore avoided imperial vestments and the residence of ancient cities. His life and sports were rustic; and whether in war, in council, or in repose, he lived amongst his people.* Few monarchs were more absolute, but this was the result of his personal superiority and uninterrupted success. The Carlovingian house had risen to the throne at the head of a warlike and free people, and Charlemagne fully recognised this. The nature of his rule, to express it truly, was that of consultative monarchy, a sovereign who nominally consulted the will of his subjects in all things that concerned them, though in the rude and imperfect way, which the circumstances of the times suggested or permitted. Twice a year he summoned all the Franks around him, discussed with them the campaign on which they were about to enter, or the legislative measures which it was required to enact. If a prelate were to be deposed, or a duke to be deprived for treason, as was the case with Tassilo, he called for the judgment of the prelates or the Franks.

The consultative principle, which was the foundation of the political system of Charlemagne, was also the distinguishing characteristic of his judicial regula-

* He used to have more than a hundred of his friends at the table with him.

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tions. Under the Merovingians the ancient system of popular jurisdiction, the *mallum*, had no doubt fallen into disuse in the west, where the Gallo-Roman population prevailed, and where the town judges pronounced sentence according to Roman law. The Carlovingians re-established or continued these popular courts in the east. Even there, their sphere had been restricted by the *leudes* and the nobles flocking to the king's courts with their pleas. In these high courts of appeal or judgment, in which the monarch was supposed to sit in person, though represented by his *missi*, Charlemagne took care that there should be assessors, and that the notables of the country should be present and should participate in the judgment. The same was ordained with respect to the *mallum*. The people being more lax to attend, there was the danger of the jurisdiction falling into the hands of a solitary judge. Charlemagne therefore established *scabini*, or elders, chosen among the community, who were compelled to attend and participate in the judgment.

But the entire of Charlemagne's policy and legislation was subjected to the one dominant necessity of his reign, that of uniting all the countries and races of the christianised and semi-civilised west, against the Paganism and Mohammedanism which threatened from the east and south. This war, originally one of defence, for the Saxon and the Avars were aggressive, became an offensive war, carried on by an annual levy in mass of almost the entire male and native population. The previous military superiority of barbarians lay in their numbers, which the local force of any province was unable to resist. But the Carlovingians employed the barbarian strategy, and overwhelmed the homes of savage tribes with armed multitudes which completely crushed them.

As the empire extended, its frontier became too wide, its foes too remote for the latter to be reached by a

central muster. The outlying provinces consequently were entrusted to counts or dukes, and the kingdoms of Italy and Aquitaine, founded for the sons of the emperor, each became starting points for separate military expeditions. This of course impaired the unity of the empire, and split it into fragments; that very military system, which originally held it together, itself undergoing and necessitating a dismemberment.

It is observed by M. Guizot that the total want of communication, of instruction and of a common idea throughout the world, rendered the maintenance of an empire impossible. But the military organisation and fiscal system of the state, with the economical condition of society, had more influence in disjoining provinces and localising authority than any moral want or ideal cause. A ruler who can collect a moneyed revenue from a large kingdom, which he distributes amongst his functionaries and soldiers, holds the country together by the numbers he employs, and who are graduated in obedience to him and to his government. But money scarcely existed at that time; Charlemagne himself migrated with his court from farm to farm, consuming the produce in nature. His counts and his soldiers he could only pay in portions of the soil. Those who served in a distant province must have had their lands in that province. Influence and authority grew up, and were exercised on the spot; and all the emperor or the central government could attempt or accomplish was some periodical and nominal control. The necessity of paying for the service of warfare in land necessarily localised the armies; and this necessity localised the state, and broke up the empire into kingdoms. The social and administrative as well as the military organisation of the Frank empire came to be identified with the soil, instead of being personal and movable, as it was under the Roman system. This gave birth to an altogether new spirit and new tendencies, known after-

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wards by the name of feudal, and developed principles of fixity and independence in large landed proprietors, unknown under the ancient system. Charlemagne had but a vague idea of the change that was taking place, and which he laboured partly to consult and admit, as well as partly to control. He acted upon the old tradition of the Merovingians, who sought to counterbalance the landed aristocracy by a life and a functionary one. But he rather attempted to make the two classes and the two principles co-exist, than to supersede the one by the other. He saw the necessity, and struggled for the maintenance, of a certain unity and supremacy of command. But he was not for forcing the Teutonic elements around him into a system and into a form of absolutism repugnant to them.

Nothing paints more strongly his incertitude and mistrust of the permanence of the imperial dignity than his passing it over in silence on the first testamentary division of his territories. Assigning Italy to Pepin, the South of France to Louis, and the north to Charles, he established no supremacy in one over the other, and seemed to think that whilst each enjoyed independence in his kingdom, all should share the supremacy of the Frank suzerainty over subject lands. The deaths of Charles and Pepin, leaving Louis the only prince of mature age to succeed him, naturally led to the transmission of the imperial crown, which Charles placed solemnly on the head of Louis in the assembly held at Aix in 813.

This was the last act of Charlemagne, who expired in the February of the following year, after a glorious reign of well nigh half a century. His character could scarcely be summed up better than in the words of Nithard: — "*Terribilis, amabilis, pariterque et admirabilis videretur.*"

Charlemagne's son and successor Louis, surnamed the Pious, or the Easy (as the epithet *Debonnaire* may be

rendered), was a prince well fitted to wear the title of Emperor, and enhance it in outward seeming by the dignity of his demeanour and the purity of his life. He was greatly shocked at the licence of his father's court, which he immediately reformed. He had spent his youth in the Latin province of Aquitaine, amidst a Frank aristocracy, which his father had settled there, and who, following their tendencies and habits, stripped the young and generous prince of his fisc lands and farms, so that he had not wherewithal to live. Charlemagne had sent *missi* to set this to rights, and restore the crown lands to his son, forbidding at the same time the military, or in other words, the noblesse, from levying tribute and allowances. Charlemagne could not cure his son of his generous propensities; Louis, after he came to the throne, giving away, as Thegan records, "lands which had belonged to his family for three generations in sempiternal property to his followers." Louis, whilst tenacious of the imperial authority, thus squandered the revenues which at that epoch could alone have supported it. The records of his reign, whilst full of proofs of the monarch's assertion of supremacy, manifest in a remarkable manner the rise of a landed and feudal aristocracy, whose interests were decidedly at variance with Latin Imperialism.

Feudalism begins already to assume shape. The Capitularies speak of *vassi* and *vassali*. Charlemagne had sought to generalise vassalage, and to attach the large class of free and allodial proprietors, however small their holdings, by requiring of them an oath of personal homage, as well as military service. In the insecure times which followed, it proved no protection whatever to the humble proprietor to hold directly of the emperor. He was obliged to choose some local magnate as his *senior*, and march to war as his *man*, rather than as the *man* of the emperor, in which capacity he was slighted and oppressed. And so came to

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be practically established in the north the maxim of no land without a lord.* Instead of a nation of great and small proprietors with equal rights and unequal wealth, there came to prevail a nation, at the summit of which was an aristocracy holding large estates or domains, either in their own right or nominally and immediately from the sovereign, whilst beneath them others held lands from them, and became their lieges, personally dependent on the aristocracy, not upon the crown.

Here again was a great point of departure between civic and rustic organisation: here branched off in two directions feudalism and antiquity. The old world had come to deny almost all hereditary right in dignity or caste. The favour of the prince, shown by elevating to office, constituted a life and functionary aristocracy. Beneath these all citizens were the same. The law recognised no inequalities in society, which stretched in a low and unbroken level before the emperor. There was indeed a lower level, that of slavery of the race which conquest had condemned to be the hewers of wood and hoers of earth for another race happening to be uppermost. But this slave caste kept out of sight; all persons were supposed to be equals of each other from the rise of Athens to the fall of Rome. We can conceive why this feeling should have been implanted in the Greeks, for example, who had learned what to shun, as well as what to adopt, in the civilisation of the east, and who brought with them a horror of *caste*, — that institution which so fettered the human race, or rather which had developed it to a certain point and then condemned it to be stationary.

The Teutonic tribes introduced into society the same medium principle which they brought into political or-

* A capitulary of the time enjoins judicial authorities not to treat as of a servile condition those freemen who lived on the crown-lands. The capitulary orders that their testimony be received; in fact, vindicates their right to be treated as free.

ganisation. They had none of the Latin horror of inequality. They admitted all degrees of it in human condition. And as these inequalities became identified with the land, they became hereditary with it, and so far partook of the injustice of caste. But the Teutons, in admitting inequality of rank, strove to secure to each grade those distinct and inalienable rights which preserve the sense of dignity and of manhood even in inferiority of condition. If the vassal did homage and promised military service, the lord was bound to respect as well as protect the vassal. The rights on both sides were clearly defined. And as early as Louis the Pious, a capitulary sets down five reasons which give a vassal the right to throw off allegiance to his lord.

This distribution of obedience and authority, this establishment of even political relations between men of the same locality, leaving little reference to a distant monarch, gave a severe blow to the imperial dignity, and reduced it to a shadow. Instead of being the head of a living trunk, to which it sent nerve and muscle, and upon which it impressed volition and action, the Emperor became but the capital of a column, which it crowned but could not animate. Feudalism grew up, until it gradually disowned the authority of a monarch, or until it succeeded in forming or in procuring a local one, with those limited pretensions and views which suited a kingdom rather than an empire.

Monarchs thus constituted were brought into the same system of law and mutual obligation which bound together inferior and superior. The worship of the sovereign as divine, or as something approaching to it, that acme of heathen and classic servility, was abolished; and the king, like any of his subjects, came to have duties as well as privileges, and to be bound by the laws of feudalism. It was this system of rights, even political rights, in the midst of inequalities of condition, which led to those essays of constitutional government

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which met with such various fortune in the different states of Europe.

It may be remarked, even thus early, that countries of the Latin race have ever shown, and even at present continue to show, a predilection for the Latin principle of social equality, even though purchased by the loss of political freedom, whilst countries of the Teutonic race have known how to mitigate feudalism without destroying noblesse, and have thus been able to develope freedom without placing the various grades of society at variance and at strife.

Whilst the great transition from ancient to modern life and law was accomplished by substituting the principle of rights in inequality for that of equality without right, a still more beneficial change was taking place in the lower world, which the ancients condemned to slavery. With many Christianity is considered an all sufficient cause; others as urgently deny its emancipating tendencies. M. Guizot thinks the world at this time was embarrassed by the overwhelming number of its slaves. Through code and capitulary are traced a series of facts, from which may be deduced the true cause of the cessation of slavery. This is the great rise in the value of man, and the demand for him as a free agent. During the last years of the empire's decline, men born within the pale of civilisation were a drug. The barbarians were the only soldiers, slaves the only labouring cultivators. But after the settlement of the Gothic and Frank tribes, the supply of slaves ceased; whilst their rude masters, unskilled in scientific cultivation, instead of personally inspecting a farm and working it by slaves, preferred leaving the latter as *coloni*, free to till as they pleased, and to pay what rent they could, no doubt in kind.

The class above the slave, and to which the slave was promoted, was that of the *lidi* or *letes*, the difference between whom and the *coloni* probably was that the *letes*

tilled a portion of land amongst them, and paid their rent or contribution in the mass. When the slave was promoted to be *lete*, the *lete* was, by the rise in the value of man, promoted to be the churchman or the warrior. It is a law of society, that the upper class die off, and the void is supplied by the class below. This can nowhere be so decidedly the case, as where the upper class claim the exclusive right of making war. The conquering barbarian did this for a time. But they soon required soldiers of other races, especially when they became aristocratical and went to war with a following. There ensued a continual drafting of the *letes* from the soil to be made use of as warriors and freemen. In order to do this it was necessary to emancipate the *lete*, and a very simple form of doing so (*per denarium*) before the king at once raised a man to the free warrior class. The proofs of this upward movement are already to be found in the laws procured by ecclesiastics. The church and the convents were very forward to raise their slaves into tributaries or *letes*. The monks even completed their own ranks from the same class, which, by the education they obtained, also made their way into the dignities of the church. The clergy at the same time favoured the conversion of the slaves on lay properties into *letes* also. They lent their churches as the registries of their freedom, and became thus the defenders of it. But having done this, the clergy began to perceive that the demand for men caused their *letes* to be taken from them and converted into warriors. They therefore procured a law forbidding any *lete* or tributary of the church to *jactare denarium* before the king, and thus be promoted from the class of church tenant to a member of the military grade of society. At a period somewhat later, when the upper clergy came to resemble the holders of fiefs, the Frank nobles objected to *letes* being promoted in the church, and coming to rival and counteract them in places of au-

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thority and influence. This is a great complaint of historians of the reign of Louis the Pious. All these are indications of an upward movement in society, which emancipated and almost abolished that lowest class of servility. This upward movement may however have been afterwards stopped, when feudalism had assumed a definite shape, when land became occupied, military force and chieftainship local. And thus the peasant lingered for many centuries as a serf, till the development of wealth and the accumulation of money came to give society a new and a different impulse. That of the first ages of the modern world was limited to the destruction of the classification of society which existed in the ancient world. In it men were slaves, citizens, functionaries, or emperor. The modern world came forth without these. It presented a territorial aristocracy, replacing the functionary and exercising his authority, nullifying the emperor, ignoring the citizen, and with an agricultural class in many grades, but never descending to the abjectness of the slave.

One of the first acts of Louis the Pious, was to appoint his two younger sons kings of separate regions, reserving for the elder, Lothaire, the seat of empire and power in the north, stretching east and west of Aix, to the ocean and the Elbe. To his son Pepin, he gave the south of France, from the Pyrenees across to Autun. To Louis, he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, Bohemia, and the lands conquered from Slavons and Avars, adding the imperial villas and property which Charlemagne had reserved in these regions. These two monarchs, as well as Bernard, king of Italy, nephew of Louis, were ordered to pay respect and make presents, not only to the existing emperor, but to his son Lothaire, his future successor, as their *Senior* *, and to adopt no measure of foreign policy without his concurrence. Against this arrangement, Bernard of Italy protested,

* Which in the capitularies means suzerain, or lord.

and came in arms to occupy the passes of the Alps. Repenting, however, of his rashness, he hastened to implore the pardon of Louis, who, for reply, caused him to be tried by the Frank nobles at Aix. These, probably anxious for Italian confiscation, condemned Bernard to death. The emperor's councillors commuted the punishment to loss of sight, which was so cruelly executed, that Bernard died; an event that awakened the contrition and horror of the emperor.

Thus, in a very short time after the death of Charlemagne, commenced the struggle between the princes who wore the title and put forward the pretensions of emperor, and the inferior monarchs infeodated to him, who were prompted to resistance by their noblesse. It was the great aim of Louis to counteract this tendency of the several European regions to fall asunder, and localise their administration, by maintaining members of the same family upon the different thrones. But the monarch married late in life Judith, a daughter of the House of Guelph, by whom he had a young son, named Charles, the future Charles the Bald. To provide a heritage for him, became the care of his mother, and of course of the emperor. This led to re-arrangements and preferency, which indisposed the princes by the former marriage, and led to a series of rebellions and civil wars. In 830, his three sons seized the emperor, and shut up the Empress Judith in a convent. Louis contrived, while a captive, to win upon his eldest son, Lothaire, and induce him to call a general assembly at Nimeguen. Here the Germans and Northerns predominating, declared for the emperor, against his sons of Aquitaine and Bavaria. During the rest of his reign, the brothers ceased not to dispute possession of their father's person and authority. Pepin of Aquitaine, and Louis of Bavaria, were leagued in general against the Emperor and his eldest Lothaire. The latter, as the heir of the empire, embraced the cause of his sire, and

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joined with it that of Charles his youngest son. Charles had had Suabia given him at one time. But he afterwards agreed with Lothaire to make a more equal division; the latter taking all eastwards of the Rhine and the Meuse, Charles taking all westward of these rivers; one of the first attempts to form a separate kingdom of what has since become France. In the midst of these partitions and disorders, having alternated during the latter years of his reign between the throne and the cloister, Louis the Pious expired at Ingelheim, in 840.

It was no doubt the respect borne to him as the son of Charlemagne, that had enabled Louis so often to recover, and to the last to wield, the authority of emperor. When at his death that dignity devolved upon Lothaire, the antagonistic principle of local sovereignty asserting its independence was developed with more force. Whilst at the same time numbers of lesser chieftains, dukes, and counts start up to assume an independent place in history. When, on his father's death, Lothaire at the head of an army of Lombard followers crossed the Alps, and summoned the Franks to do him homage as emperor, Louis of Bavaria, or South Germany, refused to acknowledge his brother as superior. Charles, master of Neustria and of the west, although at strife with his nephew Pepin, who claimed his father's heritage in Aquitaine, showed equal reluctance to acknowledge any suzerainty in Lothaire. The latter marched, first against one, then against the other, but shrunk from fighting a decisive battle with either. Lothaire's claim as emperor was supported by almost all the clergy, following the traditional hatred of Rome to local sovereignty. And he was also supported by those great nobles, who had already arisen in the centre of France. These were, Adalbert, Count of Metz, the Count of Paris, and the Count of Vermandois. In 841, Louis and Charles united their forces, the former

having brought with him a large south German army They first crushed and slew Adalbert of Metz; and then marched to meet Lothaire, who had been joined by the Aquitans. The armies joined battle in June, at Fontenailles, a village not far from Auxerre: where Charles fought in person, he was obliged to retreat, but his general, Adelhard, maintained a more equal conflict; whilst Louis and the Germans defeated the troops of Lothaire and gained the victory. Forty thousand men, says Agnelli, fell in the action. And Hincmar writes, that no such slaughter had taken place since the battle of Vincy.

The empire which Charlemagne had founded, may be said to have perished on this occasion. Lothaire, who headed and represented it, was defeated by the forces of Neustria and of Germany. Being mainly won by German over Frank, the victory of Fontenailles destroyed the old supremacy, which had been so long wielded from the left bank of the Rhine over the regions eastward of that river. The Germans were evidently then superior in war to the races westward of the Rhine. They mustered in greater masses, and being in contact with hostile races, were more accustomed to combat. Charles evidently could not maintain his independence in the west without German aid. And although he was thereby enabled to shake off Lothaire's supremacy as emperor, he was still unable to subdue that region, emphatically called France, which extended between Seine and Meuse, and of which the chieftains, though they could not make Lothaire's right as emperor prevail, were determined and able to maintain him as their own local king.*

This rendered Lothaire still formidable, and compelled his brothers to conclude one of the most solemn

* Nithard calls these chieftains *Francos*. He makes Charles proceed through Beauvais, Compiegne, Soissons, and Rheims to see if the Franks (Franci) would join him.

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and remarkable treaties of alliance on record. In March, 842, they met at Strasburg, and in the presence of their respective armies of east and west, Louis of Germany swore in what Nithard calls the Roman tongue, and Charles in the Teudesc or German, to be true to each other, and to join in no *plaid* or agreement with Lothaire, that should militate against their mutual rights. It was, in fact, the monarchs of France and of Germany who united to cast off and disown the authority of an emperor, and to assert the right of each country to form an independent kingdom. They declared that the judgment of Heaven had been given for this, their independence, in the victory of Fontenailles. Yet their oath was not one which they called Heaven to sanction. It was to their own followers they appealed to withdraw their allegiance from whichever prince should be false to this compact. They had thus recourse to the feudal sanction, and they celebrated the event by a tournament, displaying in full germs the elements of a new order of society, at the same time that they laid the foundation of the first national monarchies of Europe on the ruin of the vainly resuscitated empire.

The subsequent efforts of Lothaire to resist his brethren were not made as emperor, but as the local sovereign of a region personally attached to him. As the Germans were the chief givers of victory, he at first tried to raise the Saxon, that is the Saxon serfs, promising to emancipate them from their Frank lords; but his chief support lay in the people of the old Austrasian region, who were unwilling to obey or become inferiors either to the German, whom they had dominated on one side, or the Neustrians, whom they had so often subdued on the other. Their pride upheld Lothaire, and enabled him to come to a treaty of partition with his brothers at Verdun, in 843. Louis, by this agreement, remained master of the regions eastward of the Rhine, the cities of Mayntz, Worms, and Spires being added, *propter vini copiam.* Charles had

Neustria and Aquitaine. Lothaire retained the title of emperor, which no longer meant supremacy, except over Italy. To maintain this supremacy, he had Austrasia, and the long strip of country which stretched from it westward of the Rhine, and eastward of Saone and Rhone to the Mediterranean. Austrasia, too, included Frisia, which gave Lothaire a supply of the soldiers of the north wherewith to keep the south in subjection.

With the treaty of Verdun expired all pretension to an empire, at least in Gaul. Lothaire's first care was indeed to proceed to Rome and exercise imperial rights there. And his son continued after him to play the part of Italian Emperor, with what glory and success may be guessed from the fact of the Saracens having burned St. Peter's in those years. Charles the Bald, who outlived all the princes of his race and time, united almost all their territories towards the close of his reign, and was crowned Emperor by the Pope, in 876. This merely indicated sovereignty over Rome. In France, events were taking place which not only threw into oblivion and disuse the authority of emperors, but proved even that of a king of France as too extended and shadowy for the time, and utterly unequal to the imperative duty of providing for the defence and security of the country. The people showed themselves ready to accept and obey any prince who would defend them. But none were found; and the populations were obliged to rally under provincial chiefs. For even a kingdom to survive and prevail in France it was necessary to destroy every vestige of that which descended from the Carlovingians, and to plant an altogether new and indigenous branch which might take root as one of the local chieftaincies of the time, and grow up with the whole forest of feudalism, not venturing to out-top its fellows until the advantages to be reaped from manly monarchs came to be felt more strongly than the disgust inspired by an effete and imbecile race of kings.

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FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY.

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WHATEVER difference existed between the dynasties of Clovis and of Charlemagne, similar circumstances marked their decline. Monasticity destroyed the manhood and self-reliance of the population at both epochs, whilst peace and the establishment of a wide empire allowed military organisation to fall into decay. Martial habits and virtues were not only necessary to give security to the country, and provide for its defence; but they were also required to communicate worth and dignity to man, as well as to give that activity, and establish that most healthy social circulation, by which middle and lower ranks send their best spirits to the highest stations. In civilised ages this is the result of intellect working its way. In rude times physical advantages prevail, and often with happy result. The wars which break forth at that time, in the midst of all the ills they cause, create a demand for the strong arm of the peasant, thus break the bonds of the slave, and enable the serf to start up as a freeman.

The proof of this lies in the fact, that it was always on the warlike frontier of an empire that renovation in those dark ages commenced and was accomplished. The empire of Clovis being threatened from the east, it was upon the Rhine that a martial spirit and organisation arose of which the chiefs were the ancestors of Charlemagne. The west of France, unmolested except by the

Celts of Brittany, consequently disarmed and unwarlike, was renovated by Charles Martel, and its monks replaced by soldiers. But the Neustrians soon relapsed into a clerical or church-ridden population, and were able to furnish but few soldiers to Charles the Bald in his contest with his brethren. But in the ninth century the enterprising spirit of the Northmen opened a new path over the ocean, when all incursions and conquests by land were precluded by the victorious arms of Charlemagne. The sea rendered pervious to them precisely that part of Gaul and France where the inroads of foreign foe had been rarely known. Four or five great rivers offered ingress for private embarkations to reach far into the country; and in the space of a few years all the towns, churches, and monasteries of the region were first plundered, and then delivered to the flames. Of the population, numbers were slain, but numbers also were driven eastward. To provide for the maintenance and the freedom of these emigrants, as well as to repress their robberies and disorderly life, became a difficulty and a care. But they were wanting as soldiers to defend the rest of the country, and were located on the ravaged lands vacated by the enemy. By degrees the maritime provinces became peopled by the freebooters themselves and their descendants, who betook themselves to agriculture, uniting it with predatory and warlike habits. The more central provinces, organised and trained to resist them, adopted now the same habits; and thus the west of France became repeopled by a mixed, a manly, and a valiant race, well able and determined to resist any new efforts of Germans or Austrasians, to dominate them.

The invasion of the Normans thus, although commenced by years of rapine, murder, and anarchy, proved in the end a blessing and a regeneration for France. Eginhard, without giving the year of their first appearance, mentions that they infested the Gallic and

CHAP. II. Germanic coasts during the reign of Charlemagne, who equipped a fleet to repress them. Some years after his death, they became formidable. In 843, they ravaged the Loire, and took Nantes, in concert with the Bretons. In 844, they went up the Garonne to Toulouse. In the following year they mounted the Elbe, and were repulsed; whilst from the Seine and Paris they were only averted by seven thousand pounds weight of silver, collected by Charles the Bald. The chronicles of 851 show them to have been at Ghent, Rouen, and Beauvais. In 852, Godfrey, one of their chiefs, marched from the Scheldt to the Seine, and from the Seine to the Loire. The banks of rivers had become waste, and the Normans went across country in pursuit of plunder: 856 marks the commencement of resistance. The Normans coming to Blois, and threatening Orleans, the bishops of that city and of Chartres prepared means of defence, and deterred the enemy. But in 856, they returned in irresistible numbers and sacked Orleans. To make some head against them in this quarter, Charles the Bald gave the Duchy of Le Mans to Hemispoe, the Breton prince. The different classes and population of central France grew at this time so indignant with Charles's cowardice and incapacity, that they rebelled, and called on Louis of Germany to reign over and protect them. There ensued a civil war, during which the Normans pillaged Paris, and ransomed the monastery of St. Denis. In 859, the common people between Seine and Loire rose of themselves against the Normans. But the nobles instantly interfered, not to head or to second, but to disperse and put them down. The first successful resistance to the Normans was, however, on the Loire. Here their chiefs first grew habituated to alliances with Frank courts or princes, and with the independent dukes of Brittany. Here they began to receive fiefs, and to sink the wandering plunderer in the feudal chieftain. On the Loire, too, both nobles and people,

accustomed to war with the Bretons, were better and earlier prepared for resisting the Normans, than were the populations on the Seine and the Somme.

About 860 appears on the Loire Robert the Strong, from whom the Capets are said to be descended. He was no native magnate, but one who, from parentage and habits, had considerable affinity with the invaders. It was Geoffrey and Godfrey the Norman chiefs, who introduced him to Charles, as a commander well-fitted to be charged with the defence of Anjou against the Bretons. Robert was made duke of the region between Seine and Loire, and several Norman and Breton chiefs seem to have passed at the same time into the service of Charles, and received from him grants of land and authority. None of them remained true, except Robert, who, for several years, kept the Normans in check, fortified Le Mans and Tours against them, and was created by Charles abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, which shows how indispensable it had become to confer ecclesiastical authority and wealth upon the warrior, in lieu of the saint.

Charles himself undertook the defence of the frontier towards Rouen, in which he was by no means so successful. He selected a spot, where the rivers Andelle on one side, and Eure on the other, run into the Seine, and here erected fortifications to bar the river. He had a palace near, called Pistres or Pistes, where he convoked several assemblies, and ordered different plans of defence. In one of the decrees thus issued, chiefs were ordered to fortify castles, and peasants were enjoined to repair to them and defend them. But when the monarch saw the result of this feudal essay in the rise of castles and fortresses all over the country, from which the holders sallied forth to plunder and oppress the land, as well as to defy the royal authority, quite as much as the Norman invaders, he published another edict, forbidding what had been previously recommended. His legis-

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lation was, indeed, opposed to the formation of small feudal chieftaincies, and his edicts for either armament or taxation were after the imperial model. He could not, however, but favour what was the great tendency of the time, the formation of princedoms, duchies, and counties, and their growth into almost independent states. The south of France became earliest divided amongst a princely aristocracy. The counts of Poictiers, of Auvergne, of Toulouse, and a score of others, soon appear as independent, and, of course, hereditary potentates; their chief possessions were not held as benefices, but as allodial property*, so that to dispossess of authority the great proprietor of the land of a district was impossible. There were, however, some counties, those especially which formed the frontier, and exposed to the attack of a foe, to govern which it was imperative to appoint the bravest and the fittest; and of these the chieftains could not thus be hereditary. Robert the Strong was one of these counts of Anjou. The county of Paris was in the same category. To find revenues and followers for such chiefs, beneficial or fiscal property being all appropriated, Charles was obliged to create them abbots of the great monasteries. Thus, to Robert was given the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, and the convent of St. Denis was bestowed in the same manner; but great holdings like these could not of course be allowed to pass from father to son. When Robert the Strong perished in battle with the Normans of the Loire, his sons, Odo and Robert, were too young to succeed; so that his abbey and his duchy were given to a relative of his, named Hugh. The lands of the lesser monasteries also became divided amongst local chiefs, who made allodial possessions of them, as the capitularies complain. This subsequently formed the great source of quarrel between the clergy and the no-

* This is evident from the agreement between Charles and Louis in 980, at Confluentes, or Conflans, near Paris.

blesse. The rule of all holdings seemed, indeed, to be, that a martial son always succeeded to the father's county, though in default of the proper age and vigour it passed to another.*

Charles the Bald's pacification of the country between Seine and Loire, had not been so complete, as his contentment of the Norman chiefs upon the Scheldt and in Belgium. Upon his death (877) these, deeming themselves free from their engagements, advanced southwards into Austrasia. The disputes which followed the death of Charles, the weakness and speedy extinction of his descendants, left the country without defence. The Normans occupied Aix, lodged their steeds in Charlemagne's cathedral, and plundered the rich cities, which had hitherto escaped them on the left bank of the Rhine.

Charles the Fat, grandson of Louis the Germanic, when he succeeded to the chiefdom of the Carlovingian family, had recourse to the policy of Charles the Bald, and bestowed upon the Norman chiefs the rich countries on the Scheldt, superadding what moneyed donations he could scrape from his helpless subjects. He exhausted the wealth of the churches of east France in these endeavours, and when he found that it would not bind or satisfy the barbarians, he, in concert with Duke Henry of Austrasia, enticed the chiefs to a colloquy and slew them. This swelled the resentment of the whole people, who formed a league and summoned even their compatriots from Denmark to avenge them. In this strife,

* An edict of Charles the Bald, in 877, has been much quoted as establishing the hereditary right in counties and benefices. Charles was in that year about to proceed to Italy, to receive the imperial crown; his nobles made some difficulty to accompany him. To guarantee family interests during the expedition, it was enacted that, if a count died during his son's absence with the expedition, his county should be temporarily ruled till his decease was made known to the king or emperor. There are different readings of the edict; it shows that hereditary right already very generally existed *de facto*, though often set aside by violence, or lost by absence.

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in the midst of these ravages, and the resistance they provoked, the east of France became assimilated to the condition of the west. The churches were spoiled, Rheims itself not escaping; and, what was more felt than Norman plunder, the Frank chiefs took the opportunity to seize upon the deserted monasteries, and convert them into military holdings. The clergy protested, invoked the aid, and hoisted the banner of the old imperial cause, represented either by the Emperor Arnulph of Germany, or by some of the last weak infant princes of the Carlovingian stock.

The first striking and effectual resistance to the ravages of the Normans was offered by Paris in 886. The brave effort was made the subject of an epic poem by Abbo, an ecclesiastic of the time, who witnessed the valour and the sufferings of the besieged; but who has so stuffed his narrative with miracles, that it is difficult to give credence to the rest. The Normans, to the number of 30,000, appeared before the city in November. They erected wooden towers, wherewith to attack those which defended the bridges of the city. The assaults of the Normans and their machines were repulsed by Archbishop Gozlyn, and by Hugh, Abbot of Tours, two valiant ecclesiastics, who perished during the siege, and by Eudes, Count of Paris. Duke Henry of Austrasia came to the aid of the besieged in the ensuing summer. He proved unable to dislodge the Normans, and is said to have perished in one of their ambuscades. Charles the Fat then undertook to pay the Normans a certain sum, if they would carry their ravages higher up the river. One of the conditions of this pact was, that the Parisians should allow the boats of the Normans to pass their towers and bridges. This they nobly refused, persevering in their resistance, and compelling the Normans to withdraw on far less advantageous conditions.

This defence, and its close, covered Eudes with glory,

and Charles the Fat with disgrace. It apparently sent him to his grave; and no Carlovingian heir appearing to claim the succession, numbers of local chiefs assumed the dignity of king, Arnulph in Germany, Berenger in Italy, Conrad in Alpine Burgundy. Provence had already become a separate monarchy. "In these circumstances, the people of Gaul assembled in council, and with unanimity chose for their king, with the sanction of the Emperor Arnulph of Germany, Duke Eudes, son of Robert, a valiant and a clever man, surpassing all others by the beauty of his person, the height of his stature, the greatness of his wisdom and power."

"France," says Abbo, "was rejoiced, although Eudes was a Neustrian; and Burgundy, though it wanted not dukes, still did not refuse to recognise the illustrious Neustrian, who had thus the honour of placing on his head a triple crown."

Eudes was far less successful and heroic as a king, than he had been as a count. In the latter capacity all had supported him; but as king, none of his neighbours adhered to him, save the Duke of Burgundy, who proved ever friendly. The Counts of Flanders and of Vermandois in the north, those of Auvergne and Poitou in the south, attacked and distracted him, so that Eudes was still unable to put an end to the incursions of the Normans. At first the Emperor Arnulph came to his aid, at least against the Normans of the Scheldt. These, after extensive ravages, had entrenched themselves upon the Dyle, within marshes across which the German cavalry could not reach them. The Emperor Arnulph made his horsemen dismount, and at their head fought his way into the Norman entrenchment, slaughtering its occupants. The victory of the Emperor told unfavourably for Eudes. The minds and preferences of men were then hesitating between French and German. Foulques, Archbishop of Rheims, had reared young Charles the

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Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, and waited the opportunity to proclaim him king, in order to oppose him to Eudes. Amongst the other misfortunes which befel the latter, was that of a dreadful famine in 889. One of the advantages of a Carlovingian prince was the possession of many habitations and domains attached to them, which successively maintained a court, and even supported an army. Eudes, whose power only extended to Laon and Compiegne, wanted these; and in order to maintain his followers in the famine, he moved southward, with a large army, to war and feed in the countries beyond the Loire.

Foulques in his absence brought forth Charles the Simple and proclaimed him king. And, as Richer the monk of Rheims describes it, all the Belgian race and territory adhered to Charles, whilst the Celtic remained true to Eudes. The latter maintained his ground more by compromise than by conquest. And on his death, in 898, his heir and brother Robert, found it most prudent to submit, and acknowledge Charles the Simple as his suzerain.

This brought no diminution of his power. Robert still governed the Duchies of Paris and Orleans. Owing to the absence of the Emperor Arnulph in Italy, to his struggles with the barbarians on his far and eastern frontier after his return, and, subsequently, to the distraction of Germany and the weakness of its princes subsequent to Arnulph's death, Charles the Simple succeeded in building up a kind of empire in the old Austrasian provinces. Robert of France, with the neighbouring Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Burgundy, far from opposing him, sought to make use of his name, and of the Church's aid, to put an end by conciliation to the hostility of the Normans. Rollo, their leader on the Seine, had sunk from the freebooter into the settled prince. He was master of Rouen, and

tolerated its bishop and its clergy. These pointed out to the Normans the advantages of regular and peaceable possession; as the means to which, they proposed Rollo's acceptance of the investiture of the Duchy of Normandy for himself and his heirs from Charles the Simple. It was, no doubt, as a suzerain better able to play this part, that Robert and his brother dukes had acknowledged Charles the Simple. The monarch, accompanied by Robert, met Rollo on the river Epte, the Norman boundary, to come to an agreement. The freebooter, not contented with Normandy, wanted a neighbouring province to pillage, as well as his own duchy to live in. How else, he asked, should he subsist? The king and Robert offered Flanders. But Rollo preferred Brittany, and he was gratified in his desire. Rollo consented to do homage by proxy, when the well-known occurrence took place of the Norman soldier, whom the newly-made duke had appointed to perform the act of obeisance, raising Charles's foot so rudely as nearly to upset the monarch. Rollo was not the less metamorphosed from the sea-king into the Norman duke. He was afterwards solemnly baptized at Rouen, Robert of France acting as his godfather, and being a party to the solemn treaty, which enrolled the Duke of Normandy amongst that potent aristocracy which had divided amongst them the empire of Charlemagne.

Having made the use of Charles the Simple which they desired, and having obtained peace and security from the Normans, they proceeded to get rid of the Carlovingian and his supremacy. Charles was not contented to play the *Roi Fainéant*. He had a favourite, named Hagano, who taught him to pretend to real empire, and who even induced him to cross the Rhine in order to oppose Conrad. This prince had been elected King of Germany on the extinction of the Carlovingians of that country in 911, the same year in which the

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accord with Rollo had taken place. Such a revolution, accomplished in Germany, prompted Robert to reclaim the crown in France. He united the French and German interests against Charles. This prince's truest and warmest friend, Foulques, Archbishop of Rheims, was slain by some followers of the Count of Flanders, with whom he was at feud. Charles was thus compelled to invoke German aid to support him against the French dukes. But Conrad and his successor, Henry the Fowler, could give but temporary attention to the affairs of France. Charles therefore was driven from the imperial territory of Soissons, Laon, and Rheims, and Robert was crowned in the cathedral of the latter town (922), Herivée, its archbishop, being on his death-bed. In the following year, Charles having secured Norman aid, undertook an expedition to recover Soissons. He was encountered near that town by Robert, who, conspicuous by his white beard, received the thrust of a lance, and fell dead on the field, his son Hugh, and Heribert of Vermandois, at the same time, routing the forces of Charles, and putting him to flight.

The death of Robert defeated the aim at that time of raising the Duchy into the kingdom of France, by making it paramount over the imperial lands and provinces around Rheims. Young Hugh, son of Robert, could not at once assume his father's superiority amongst the French dukes; and all the advantages and conquests arising from the expulsion of Charles, fell to Heribert, Count of Vermandois, or of St. Quentin.

It was probably to counterbalance his power, that Hugh, instead of placing on his own head the crown of his father, preferred to confer it upon Raoul or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy. This prince had married Hugh's sister Emma; and Glaber pretends that Hugh consulted Emma, asking her whether she would like to see her husband Rodolph, or her brother Hugh, crowned. Emma is said to have preferred the election of her hus-

band; but Hugh consented to this for more politic reasons. CHAP. II.

The most prominent and influential fact at this time was not so much the mutual hatred of the German and French races, which in truth came seldom in contact, as the jealousy and dislike of the intermediate race to both. The people of Burgundy, of Lorraine, which included Austrasia, and even of Champagne, equally repudiated the domination of the dukes of Saxony and the dukes of France; they were averse to the Henrys and Othos, as to the Roberts and the Hughs. The dislike was that of local interests against distant rule, which was augmented by the circumstance of the church having become most powerful in the intermediate region. Difference of tongue was superadded, and Hugh, the son and successor of Robert, had learned from recent experience the difficulty of extending his power or sovereignty eastward. The Normans had not, as was expected, been quieted by the regular grant to them of the territory on the Lower Seine. Charles the Simple himself had enticed them to war against Robert. Hugh, as Duke of France, might maintain peace with them, and with Lorraine; but the moment he assumed the crown, he assumed with it sovereign pretensions, menacing and provocatory to all around. Hugh therefore preferred placing the crown upon the head of his brother-in-law, Raoul or Rodolph of Burgundy, a prince of activity and superior attainments, childless moreover, and who from his position could best awe the men of Aquitaine and of Lorraine, should they menace hostility. Rodolph was therefore crowned; and he was no sooner consecrated, than he and Heribert quarrelled about the valuable church patronage of the imperial territory. It would be idle to attempt a narration of the wars and accommodations, fallings in and fallings off, of the half-dozen dukes and Charles the Simple. Heribert made this prince his captive, reproducing and threatening to

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reestablish him from time to time, as his unscrupulous policy and interests varied.

Charles the Simple died in 929: and Rodolph in 936, after having employed his arms and extended his power far more in the south than in the disputed regions of Champagne and Lorraine. Here he had triumphed for a time over Heribert. But the Belgian provinces showed themselves stubborn as ever, and presented the same obstacle to what Richer calls Celtic supremacy or conquest. Hugh of France again shrunk from taking up the crown, which the death of Rodolph seemed to leave to him. The power and the enmity of those around him were great as before; moreover, the dukes of Saxony, as kings of Germany, had largely risen in eminence by their victories. Martial virtues were those most prized in that age; and whilst the wars of France were petty and ineffectual, those of Henry and Otho against the Hungarians rivalled the victories of Charlemagne, and gave rights as well as pretensions to the resuscitation of his empire and his dignity. To preserve the country west of the Rhine from such formidable competition required a prince of Carlovingian descent; and therefore Hugh, with his brother magnates, invited *Louis d'Outremer*, son of Charles the Simple, to return from England, where he had taken refuge, and assume the crown of his ancestors.

The policy of Hugh is easily discerned, and its wisdom cannot be denied; yet the most contrary and unexpected results flowed from it. Young Louis d'Outremer in a very short time emancipated himself from the French dukes, and repairing to Laon and to Rheims, recommenced the old and imperial antagonism of his family to them. Whereupon these at once reversed their policy and flung themselves into the interests of the German emperor. Hugh espoused Otho's sister, and favoured that monarch's supremacy over eastern and Belgian France, in preference to that of young Louis.

The chiefs and people of the region, and still more the clergy, retained their preference to the Carlovingians. They all offered strenuous resistance to Otho, in which they were joined by Eberhard of Franconia, or of the Franks east of the Rhine. Nor did Otho triumph until fortune enabled him to surprise the chiefs and the armies of his enemies. This was in 939. Eberhard of Franconia, and Giselbert, Duke of Lorraine, had crossed the Rhine on a plundering expedition into the territories of Otho. The greater part of their forces had already passed to the left bank. They were about to follow, when Herman, Otho's lieutenant, came upon them and put them to the rout. Eberhard was slain, and Giselbert drowned in endeavouring to escape over the river. Otho in consequence established without opposition his power and his lieutenants in Lorraine and in Metz, Louis d'Outremer endeavouring to obtain favour with the victor by espousing another sister of Otho's, Gerberga, widow of Giselbert.

Whilst the German monarch thus made himself master of the provinces west of the Rhine, a conquest rendered more complete by the death of Heribert of Vermandois and the division of his estates, attention was called to the west by a quarrel which broke out between the Normans and Arnulph, Count of Flanders. The river Somme was the Norman boundary, which they frequently passed on marauding expeditions. Herluin, Count of Montreuil, was the ally of the Duke of Normandy. Arnulph drove him out of Montreuil, and William of the Long Sword, Duke of Normandy, received and supported Herluin. In pursuit of this quarrel the duke was assassinated in an isle of the Somme by Arnulph. A French historian, Richer, makes Otho and Hugh privy to the deed, and recounts that the immediate cause was the behaviour of the Duke of Normandy at a meeting, which the great magnates had at Attigny. From this meeting, William

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was at first excluded, when, forcing his way in, he found Otho seated above King Louis, at which he expressed his indignation, and compelled Otho to rise. Hugh and Arnulph, both present, were also indignant at the Duke of Normandy's taking so strongly the part of Louis; and hence, says Richer, the conspiracy to assassinate him. This historian of the Church and Carlovingian party eagerly records every accusation against Otho or against Hugh, hating alike the German and the French. So that much faith is not to be placed in his recitals.

The heritage of the Duke of Normandy, who left two infant sons, awakened the cupidity of Louis d'Outremer. The duke had been friendly to the prince, and had paid allegiance to him. Louis took advantage of this to proceed to Rouen, and claim the guardianship of the infant Richard. The churchmen of course supported him, as did the Normans of the early conquest. But neither they nor their dukes had at first succeeded in perfecting that feudal organisation, which rendered them equally powerful in war and industrious in peace. The amalgamation of conquered and conquering races could not be so instantaneous. And history testifies the weakness of the Normans in war. On one occasion they could not defend Eu from capture. The military expedient of the Normans, therefore, was to call to their aid, bands of their rude compatriots from Denmark. And these, whilst they preserved the independence of the duchy, caused it to relapse into barbarism and predatory habits. These pagans, as the churchman calls them, were strongly opposed to Louis d'Outremer and his pretensions, who nevertheless carried off the young Norman princes to educate them in his court at Laon. Here Louis is said to have treated young Richard without the respect due to his birth and rights. A Norman follower of the prince, named Osmond, carried him off in consequence, and escaped into the dominions of

Hugh. The latter seized the opportunity to interfere. His object seems to have been to secure in the name of the young duke the towns of Normandy south of the Seine, in order to counteract the party of Louis, which was powerful at Rouen. He thus occupied Evreux, and tried to get possession of Bayeux. As Louis was supported by the Normans of the old settlement, Hugh seemed to be on an understanding with those more lately from Denmark. For Louis was made captive by these, and handed over to Hugh; the latter releasing to them the young Duke Richard. The Duke of France made use of the durance in which he held Louis, first to obtain from him the liberation of the Norman prince, and at last to extract from him the possession of Laon. So that the Carlovingian monarch received his freedom on the condition of giving up his last possessions, and indeed his last hopes.

Louis no sooner regained his liberty, than he betook himself to the Emperor Otho, represented the cruelty with which he had been treated, the straits to which he had been reduced, and at the same time depicted the church and imperial party as so strong in Normandy and in France, that with the aid of a German army, Neustria, as the duchies of France and Normandy were called, might be reduced. Otho listened and believed, and mustering a strong army from his own realms, as well as from those of King Conrad of Burgundy, marched into France in 946. The chiefs of the duchies of Normandy and France combined for defence, so that it was once more a struggle between Neustria and Austrasia, between Celtic and Belgic Gaul. Hugh, as was his wont, exerted himself to defend the course of the Seine. When he failed in this, the Germans effecting a passage, the duke shut himself up in Orleans, giving up the country to be wasted, but leaving every town in so perfect a state of defence, that not one was captured. Otho's troops were repelled from Rouen.

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An attempt to take Senlis was equally unsuccessful. The great superiority at that time of the powers of defence over those of offence rendered conquest impossible. This was one of the benefits of feudal organisation. Had England been as advanced as the continent in this respect, its conquest a century later would have been impossible.

Otho finding it difficult to crush the west in war, had recourse to ecclesiastical arms, and called a council, to fulminate an excommunication against Hugh, in which even the Pope was made to join. But Hugh, completely master of his territories, laughed at ecclesiastical censures, after having defied imperial armies. He was so completely sovereign, that he did not fear to appoint counts in different districts, who swore fealty to him. Thus Tetbold was Count of Chartres and of Blois, towns avowedly belonging to the duchy of France. At length Otho, acknowledging the power of Hugh to be invulnerable, advised Louis to come to terms, and be contented with Laon, the German emperor retaining Lorraine, and Hugh rounding his territories by the acquisition of the level districts in Burgundy, and the reversion of the entire of that province to his son Otho.

Notwithstanding these proofs of the solidity of his power, which acquired for Hugh the surname of the Great, he declined, on the death of Louis d'Outremer, in 954, to assume the crown. The dignity thereby acquired would have brought him no more than the town of Laon, unless he proceeded to dispute Lorraine with the German Emperor. Waiving such ambition, Hugh united with Otho's brother, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, who governed Lorraine, in crowning Lothaire, son of Louis d'Outremer. And he forthwith brought the young king on a tour through the chief towns of his dominions, being Paris, Orleans, Chartres, Tours, and Blois. They then proceeded into Poitou, Berry,

and Auvergne, the counts of which region Duke Hugh pretended to consider subject to himself as military vicegerent for the descendant of Charlemagne. The counts resisted, but the city of Poictiers was forced to submit. This expedition was the last act of Hugh, who expired in 956.

The sons of Hugh the Great, Hugh and Otho, were under the influence of their mother Hedwige, as Lothaire was under the guardianship of Gerberge, both sisters of the Emperor Otho and of his brother Archbishop Bruno, who governed the country west of the Rhine. Richard the young Duke of Normandy at the same time married the sister of Hugh and Otho, so that peace and alliance prevailed from the ocean to the Rhine for several years, which, in consequence, form but blanks in the chronicles of the day. Whilst the younger son of Hugh the Great, Otho, who did not long survive, had Burgundy, Hugh succeeded to the Duchy of France, to which the county of Poitou was added. Hugh was a name borne by many chiefs of the time, to distinguish him from whom, as well as from his sire, the young Duke of France was early called Hugh Capet or Capez. Of the many derivations given of the name, not one is satisfactory; the most probable is the most simple, that it came from the cap which he wore.

The peace which prevailed at this time between the dukes and great princes, was disturbed by the feuds of the lesser chiefs or barons, who began to assume importance, and to occupy that place in the annals of the day which the greater princes hitherto filled. Those counts, who had all of them got possession of church property, were on this account in perpetual strife with the prelates, and at the same time with the Carlovingian princes, who made their cause identical with the Church. Tetbold, or Thibaut, Count of Chartres, Geoffrey, or Foulques, Count of Anjou, had each their quarrel with the Church of Rheims or the

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Church of Tours.* The sons of Heribert, Count of Vermandois, who on the division of their father's territories, had become counts, one of them of Troyes, had continued feuds with the Church. Ragenerius or Regnier, Count of Haynault, the Count of Treves, and numberless others of the same rank, who sought to establish themselves in different towns and fortresses, gave serious trouble to King Louis, whom they spoiled, and to Bruno, who always came with forces to vindicate the King's rights. The lesser aristocracy, at feud with the Church, and kept down by the lieutenants of the German emperor, came to look to the Duke of France as a preferable suzerain. But the most potent auxiliaries and supporters of Hugh Capet, in effecting this revolution, were of the Belgic or German race. The reaction was rather against the uncompromising churchmen who would reclaim all ecclesiastical property, and against Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, than it was of French against German. Bruno succeeded in placing upon the archiepiscopal chair of Rheims Odalric, a spirited prelate, who commenced an active war against church spoilers, against Thibaut of Chartres, Heribert, and a number of lesser chiefs, by which "he gained the hostility of Duke Hugh." Six years' administration of his diocese, however, showed the impossibility of the Church recovering all its old possessions from the hands of the lesser nobility. One of these, or, at least, one of their party, succeeded Odalric in the episcopal seat of Rheims. This was Adalbero, whose brother Frederic, a duke in Lorraine, had married a sister of Hugh Capet. Adalbero's administration of his diocese was different from that of his predecessors. Instead of quarrelling with neighbouring counts, he strove to economise and put in order what the Church possessed. He suppressed useless and dilapidated monasteries, and transferred their

* See Richer for the one, Frodoard for the other.

revenues to the service of the cathedral, in the precincts of which he established canons, who lived in common, after the manner of monks, but performed the functions of the clergy. Rich himself, Adalbero made large gifts of property to the Church; he became therefore popular even with the monks, and was able to accomplish his reforms. Adalbero at the same time applied himself to establish some kind of education, and for this purpose invited the celebrated Gerbert to Rheims, and introduced him to Hugh Capet, who first sent his son Robert to be Gerbert's pupil, and who afterwards fixed the learned professor in Paris.

Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, expired in 969, whilst Otho was still in Italy; nor did the emperor return from thence to Germany until a short time before his own death in 973. The archbishop had to provide for the settlement and future government of Lorraine, on which the German emperor expended so little care or thought. Bruno, in dying, accomplished this in the only manner that the age allowed; he left the county in the hands of the local noblesse. Frederic, whose brother held the bishopric of Metz, had been for many years employed by Bruno as his vicegerent in that portion of Lorraine. On the prelate's death he became its duke. In Belgian or Lower Lorraine, a chief of the name of Godfrey came to wield similar power. But the general feeling of the nobles was against him; the sons of Regnier, Count of Mons, who had been dispossessed and exiled by Bruno, being considered to have a better right. And these sons received general support from Hugh Capet and the French in their attempts to recover Hainault, whilst Godfrey was upheld by the partisans of Otho. A war ensued, and a battle of doubtful result, except in the circumstance of Godfrey receiving a mortal wound. This led to an accommodation; the son of Regnier was allowed to keep Mons, whilst Charles, the younger brother of Lothaire, was given Cambray. It seemed to have

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been the policy of Bruno to enable the Carlovingian princes to find a settlement elsewhere than in their old seats on the borders of Lorraine. Thus Lothaire had been prompted by him to aim at the acquisition, at one time, of Normandy, at another of Flanders. Otho the Second now followed the same policy with respect to Charles, who, poor and without resources, preferred territory, even with nominal vassalage as a count, to existing without followers or resources as a Carlovingian prince. Charles at the same time adopted the manner of the class into which he sunk, by appropriating the church lands and revenues, making light of sacerdotal remonstrances, and taking every opportunity of showing himself the enemy of churchmen.

Charles was invested with the county of Cambresis by Otho the Second, on the condition that he should not support the pretensions of his brother Lothaire upon Lorraine. The anxiety of the German emperor was to leave his northern realms at peace, in order that his time, resources, and levies might be applied to the maintenance of his Italian interests. Lothaire was too poor to rest contented with the mere town of Laon; and as Bruno had prompted the Carlovingian princes to acquire territories westward, Hugh Capet now counselled them to press upon Lorraine. In 978 Lothaire learned that Otho was passing the summer season with his empress at Aix, without any army to guard him; for a military force, according to the feudal system that was established, consisted in what followers vassals could bring together upon an emergency; and when no necessity appeared, monarchs refrained from putting their vassals to the inconvenience of attending them. Lothaire summoned Hugh Capet and the noblesse of the Duchy of France, and pointed out to them the opportunity of surprising Otho. They applauded the enterprise and lent their assistance towards it, the prince setting out forthwith, accompanied by a lightly armed body of

troops, to accomplish his design. Some delay, however, in the passage of the Meuse gave Otho warning, and allowed him time to escape, which he did, vowing vengeance upon Lothaire.

In the following year, 980, Otho came with 30,000 men to take his revenge. He marched through the territory of Rheims, burned the royal palaces of Attigny and Compiegne, and continuing his route to Paris, assembled his army on the heights of Montmartre (Mons Martyrium), and there hymned forth an hallelujah, as a song of triumph. Paris was then safely confined in its island, or at most extended along the southern shore of the Seine, which river Otho found it difficult to cross. He therefore contented himself with the ravages and the bravado in which he indulged, and returned into Lorraine. The French chroniclers boast that they molested his retreat, and even caused Otho considerable loss on his repassage of the Aisne. The campaign, however, was successful in having raised mutual disgust between Lothaire and Hugh Capet, the latter finding himself exposed to incursions and ravage from the idle ambition and provocation of Lothaire, who was unable to support him by any force; while Lothaire, on his side, saw that Hugh merely protected his own territories, without caring for Laon or Lorraine. Lothaire, therefore, became reconciled to Otho, held a meeting with him on the Meuse, and, as the price of the emperor's friendship, waived his pretensions to Lorraine, at which the hearts of his followers, *corda Francorum**, says the chronicler of Saint Denis, were much saddened. If the descendant of Charlemagne gave up his claims upon Lorraine to Otho, it was idle for Hugh Capet to remain in hostility with the German emperor. The latter, after his pacification with Lothaire, had gone to Italy;

* In the letters of Gerbert, and in Richer, who were cotemporary writers, *Franci* manifestly means the followers of Lothaire, not the barons or nobles of the duchy of France.

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thither Hugh Capet sent, proffering friendship and alliance with Otho. The reply was an invitation to the duke to visit the emperor in Italy: a request with which Hugh Capet complied, to the great anxiety and suspicion of Lothaire, who, according to Richer, used every effort to have Hugh's return intercepted. The latter felt it necessary to pass the Alps in the disguise of a groom, and thus returned to his duchy.

Otho the Second expired in 982. Henry of Bavaria pretended to succeed, setting aside the right of the future Otho the Third, a boy of but five years old; and Lothaire, alive to every opportunity of gaining Lorraine, leagued with Henry, and undertook an expedition to the Rhine. The people of the country were, however, hostile to him, and he retreated with some difficulty. In the following year he was more fortunate; aided by Heribert of Troyes, he succeeded in winning possession of the strong town of Verdun, from the walls of which he repelled all the efforts of the Lorraine chiefs to expel him. A gleam of prosperity thus shone upon Lothaire, when death carried him off in 986. His eldest son Louis, who had been crowned by anticipation several years previous, succeeded to the hopeful position of his father. Even Hugh Capet seemed inclined to restore his friendship and protection, as the first act of the young king was, in concert with the duke, to march to the reduction of the archiepiscopal town of Rheims.

It is considered by M. Thierry, who has been in general followed by modern French historians, that the principal causes which about this time led to the enthronement of Hugh Capet, as king of France or of the French, in place of the Carlovingian princes, was the antipathy of race, and especially that of French against Germans, which prompted the chiefs and the population of the central provinces to throw off the yoke of the Germans, which the Lorrain or Belgian princes were to

a certain degree. A study of the records and chronicles of the time does not lead to this conclusion. On the contrary, they prove beyond a question, that the personages and the party which were most influential in awarding the crown definitively to Hugh Capet were precisely Belgian or Lorrain, and attached moreover to German interests.

Hitherto the Carlovingian princes had maintained their hold and influence in their own circumscribed territories by the support of the archiepiscopal church of Rheims, which maintained its jealousy both of the Duke of Paris and of the German emperor, labouring at the same time to save and to recover its church property, as best it might, from the counts ever ready to despoil it.

It has been recorded how Adalbero, son of Godfrey, Count of the Ardennes, was promoted to that see, and how he laboured to reform and restore it. The prelate Adalbero was not what his predecessor had been, a devoted partisan of the Carlovingian princes. He saw that they were too weak to protect the Church, especially that of Rheims, which, situated between the frontiers of two great nations, was continually the spoil of both. Adalbero, connected with all the German noblesse and princely families of Lorraine, was for preserving that province for the young Emperor Otho; and his letters of exhortation written by Gerbert, addressed to all the prelates and counts of the border region, entreat them to resist all the efforts of Lothaire and Louis, whilst recommending that they should make a friend of Hugh, Duke of France.

Policy so hostile to them on the part of the prelate of Rheims, excited the inveterate enmity of the Carlovingian princes; and, at length, Louis marched to reduce Rheims with an army that Adalbero could not for the moment resist, for he gave hostages to answer for his conduct before an assembly that was to be convened.

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The prelate did this, apparently, in connivance with Hugh Capet, between whom and Adalbero there was in all probability an early agreement to aim at the setting aside of the Carlovingians, and the division between the German emperor and Hugh Capet of the countries between France and Lorraine. The great obstacle to the completion of such a scheme, young King Louis, was at this very time carried off by illness, which came so opportune for the designs of his foes, that they are all and severally accused of having brought it about by poison.

The meeting of chiefs and prelates already summoned at Compiegne to hear Louis' accusation of Adalbero took place. But no accuser appeared. Charles the uncle of Louis held aloof. By his conduct as lord of Cambray, which dignity he had accepted under the suzerainty of the emperor, he had alienated the clergy, the French or *Franci*, both of Laon and of the duchy of France, as well as public opinion in general. He had made a lowly marriage, lived a dissipated life, and was, in fine, without a friend. Hugh Capet took upon himself to absolve Adalbero of the crime laid to his charge, that crime being treason to the Carlovingian family, which was then in the thoughts and purposes of all. It was, however, judged right to defer the final decision, and to appoint another meeting at Senlis, where, after due reflection and deliberation, a solemn resolve might be made. In the interval between the assemblies, Charles came to remonstrate with Adalbero. The prelate repelled him as one given to the worst vices and the worst associates. When the second meeting took place at Senlis, Adalbero represented Charles as unworthy of the crown, which he declared had never been hereditary. And, no doubt, Adalbero, as Archbishop of Rheims, had in view the example of Hatto, Archbishop of Mayence, who, on the

extinction of the German Carlovingians, had rendered the crown of the empire elective, and attributed to the Church and its metropolitan the chief influence in the election. Hugh Capet was therefore unanimously declared king in the midsummer of 987, and was solemnly crowned soon after at Noyon. CHAP. III.

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THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

HUGH, ROBERT, HENRY, AND PHILIP.

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THE destined monarchy of France was exceedingly slow to germ. Much depended on the spot, and upon the soil, in which it was to take root; and these were long to prepare and to fix. The heroism and ability of Robert the Strong and his descendants, exerted during a century and a half, no more than sufficed to place the crown, and that but a nominal one, on the head of Hugh Capet. This attained, the family slumbered for another century upon their new found throne, more like the princes in which a royal race dies out, than like those which inaugurate and give the first impulse and renown to a dynasty.

What rendered the insignificance of early France and of its kings more remarkable, was that at the same time there sprung up, on the other side of the Rhine, a succession of great and glorious monarchs, heroes, legislators and organisers, who constituted Germany the first empire in Europe, making Rome itself and its pontificate dependent upon their will and subsidiary to their grandeur. The genius of Charlemagne descended to Henry the Fowler and the Othos: and yet, in consequence of their falling into the imperial track, and seeking in their policy a resuscitation of the past rather than a development of the present, they left an edifice

of weak construction and perishable materials; whilst at the same time the inglorious and imbecile Capets were, by merely slumbering on the throne, enabling the future monarchy and dynasty of France to grow up together, and send down roots which withstood the storms and the wear of centuries.

Who could have foreseen the different fate and relative importance of the French monarchy and of the German empire, contemplating both in the eleventh century, the latter all grandeur and glory, the former scarcely attracting the notice of the chronicler? The quiet, the inglorious, the almost effortless rise of the new monarchy, was proof that its formation and future grandeur were more the result of circumstances than the work of man. It was indeed a natural crystallisation of the confused elements of ruined Gaul, mingled with all that the Teutonic race had brought to renew it, but which had also fallen into premature dissolution. No sooner was the centre found round which the elements could naturally group, than the monarchy was formed.

That centre was Paris, a spot which Julian and Clovis had marked as the seat of empire, but which ecclesiastical division always thrust into the second rank. As long as Paris was thus ignored, or treated as subordinate to Sens, to Rouen, or to Rheims, the seats of powerful archbishops, there existed a Neustria, not a France. But when the Normans had taken possession of the Lower Seine, Paris became the great bulwark against them. In the middle of the ninth century, the sanctity of its monasteries or the wealth of its cathedral was what gave importance to a town. Towards the close of the same century a strong position, capable of enabling a brave population to defend themselves against an enemy, became the prime consideration. People began to look to chiefs, not to saints. And Paris, Tours, and Angers, barring the ascent of Seine and Loire to the Pagan northmen, were more revered for

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their walls, than for their helpless shrines. The descendants of Charlemagne had, however, an hereditary dislike for walled towns. They lived a nomad life, travelling with their court from farm to villa, and thus gained no fixed adherents amongst the lords of the soil: for whilst the royal court continued to be ambulatory, the noblesse grew more and more local and fixed, which made it the interest of one to repudiate the other. So that at last the Carlovingian princes shrunk into the mere lords of the tower of Laon, and patrons of the church of Rheims.

Hugh Capet's elevation is generally considered the commencement or enthronement of feudalism. It certainly was the triumph of local sovereignty, and the formal division of the country into a group of principalities, of which the duchy of France had the great advantage of being the centre, in consideration of which, chiefly, its duke was allowed the title of king. But at this time that title scarcely meant supremacy. The Dukes of Normandy declared they held their possessions but from God. The Count of Flanders refused to acknowledge Hugh, until persuaded by his brother of Normandy that the dignity was but a name. The Count of Poictiers, who aspired to be independent in Aquitaine, refused to acknowledge even the title.

The formation of independent principalities did not constitute feudalism. The enthronement of princes, and the military defence of provinces, each in its capital, were in some measure even antagonistic to feudalism, which was essentially a rustic organisation, based upon peasant and landlord, upon the dues of the one and the rights of the other. Civic organisation, on the contrary, based upon the townsman and the magistrate, formed the chief characteristic of the political and social condition of the ancient or Roman world. In this money had been the great instrument; it paid the landlord, the State, the soldier, the judge. But with

the fall of the empire money ceased at least to circulate: all services came to be paid in land, and all dues in kind. This mode of permanently providing for great political necessities, for the defence of the country, the maintenance of its peace, and the rendering of justice, — not in return for salaries, and in consequence of temporary functions, but by right and duty, as possessing and inheriting land, — this was the feudal system. It was far from being established at once, especially in France. Much occurred to counteract, to modify, and to retard its progress, which was very different in different countries, in some of which the middle classes succeeded, not merely in maintaining their rights, but in establishing their independence.

In legislation, in the founding of a political system, in judicial and fiscal regulations, the Norman took the lead; the conquest of England enabling them to render their system of fiefs universal. But even the Norman kings derogated from the spirit of feudalism. From the very first, they levied money in lieu of military service, and preferred rent to any other mode of satisfying monarch or landlord. From the first, too, they paid and employed armies of mercenary soldiers. The same love and need of money led them to compound with townsfolk, and to leave them in the enjoyment of separate and non-feudal laws and privileges, in return for which they paid.* Feudalism, as founded by the Normans, was not that exclusive system of monopoly and caste which it afterwards became.

It was the Norman, too, who kept alive and in vigour the habit of the monarch's consulting his nobles and people previous to any great enterprise, craving their advice and their aid, and thus preserving the Teutonic principle of a great council of the nation.

* At the first the towns or townships were let at *ferm* or farm, and the nobles had the fermage; but, by degrees, the citizens obtained the privilege of levying and paying their own contributions to the crown.

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In all these ways and institutions, the kings of France were imitators of the Anglo-Normans. For of themselves, the early Capets conceived no great political aims. They appear to have had neither revenues nor army, and their councils were rather synods of bishops than gatherings of the noblesse. What they did, either in the way of defence or offence, was by means of the counts of Anjou, or of Flanders, or the dukes of Normandy, in whose courts and counties the age was advancing in a manner far more energetic and marked than in Paris or the duchy of France. That spirit, however, was restless and adventurous, and drove men to enterprise and expatriation. This was felt far more in other provinces, than at the court or in the duchy of France, where feudalism more quietly established itself; the baron strengthening himself in his castle, without embarking in far conquest or political struggles.

The greatest change wrought by the introduction of the feudal system was not that of law, of sovereignty, or of social organisation. It was the new spirit which it introduced, the totally different sense of morality, motives of action, and grounds of judgment and appreciation, having no similarity or relation to those which had formerly prevailed. Civic life begat a sentiment of equality and of local patriotism. It produced the virtues and the vices of men who passed their existence in the presence of their fellows. It made men courteous and eloquent, clever in address, dissembling of thought. It demanded neither courage nor enthusiasm, especially when civism owned a despotic master. The task or the duty of warfare it devolved upon others, in general on the lowest of the population, a system which naturally resulted in discomfiture, and finally in total extinction. But whilst the character of civic life was that of social ease, the peculiarity of feudalism was isolation, accompanied by a love of turbulence and excitement. Each chief was pent up in his castle, living in solitude

in the midst of his family and dependants, meeting equals and superiors only at rare intervals, these filled by ceremony and mistrust. No general or national authority existing or being effectual, each chief looked to himself for protection and maintenance. As he had learned to surround his dwelling with wall and moat, he covered his person with armour; and all arbitrage or judicial assembly being suspended or ignored, private war became the only mode of avenging injury or righting injustice. These circumstances and necessities worked out in time a law of their own, and institutions to regulate them. Their basis was no doubt what has been since noted and lately stigmatised as individualism, —a great value set on personal energy, a great respect for personal worth, a deep feeling of personal pride. These have been assumed to preclude generosity, and to be the very deification of the selfish principle. Nothing can be more untrue. Disinterestedness was as much the virtue of the knight as asceticism was of the monk. And by the side of that stern individual independence, which cast off all law, and spurned all authority, there arose, what was almost unknown to the man of the ancient world, the voice of conscience, which perhaps was never so strong in any other age.

It is difficult to account for that striving after excellence, that idealisation of man, his duties, his nature, and his mission, which came to constitute chivalry. It was partly, no doubt, in imitation of that ascetic striving after sanctity which animated the monks, and which was transferred with such beauty and advantage to the men of the world of those days. Antiquity had no example of the kind since the decay of the Stoics. Christianity, as understood and acted upon by the generation, and even by the more eminent men of the decaying empire, was abject and unmanly; almost incompatible, indeed, with public or political duties. The Teutonic race re-introduced into the modern world a stoicism of its own: it

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reinstated the manly virtues; erected a high standard of honour, rendering courage and candour once more the attributes of the upper class; and raised woman to that degree of equality and consideration which has given the fair sex, with its gentler views of humanity, so large a share and influence in the public opinion and direction of the world.

There can be no doubt that it created a code of morality not altogether that of the Gospel, and taught a religion of pride which it contrived, somehow or another, to amalgamate with the religion of humility. But the world was all the better for being saved from monkery; and since religion was doomed for some centuries to fall into the hands of a caste of priests, it became advantageous that there should be established a system of morality, a standard of private honour and of public virtue, independent of them.

Another creation and peculiarity of the feudal system was the almost religious, at all events the poetical sentiment, which it threw into personal service or attachment. Indeed, when feudalism arose, there was nothing to which attachment was possible, save the person or the prince. There was not yet a France, and no longer a Gaul. What town was worthy of exclusive veneration? There was an interested as well as a sentimental motive. Princes gave fiefs; chiefs made conquests and distributed them. If a noble had himself appropriated or inherited church lands, it was only an emperor or a king who could by diploma validate the possession. Hence, the monarch grew in reverence, and attracted to him all that dignity and those prerogatives which were waifs for a time, and became the summit and the centre of that homage which all were willing to pay, because they were determined to exact it.

But all this was inchoate at the commencement of the eleventh century. The patent fact was the existence of from a dozen to a score of almost independent

princes, and the gradual establishment under them of a far larger number of counts and barons, who formed the true elements of the feudal system. The most powerful of the great princes was the Duke of Normandy, who had married Hugh Capet's sister. The county of Flanders was remote. To the north and east of the duchy of France extended the territories of the Beauvaisis, of Vermandois, and of Champagne, broken by recent succession, and fallen into the hands of the lesser noblesse; this was indeed also the case with Burgundy, the duke of which was a brother of Hugh. These accordingly gave the new monarch but little trouble. The chief who displayed most hostility towards him was William Count of Poitou. Hugh undertook a military expedition beyond the Loire, and even laid siege to Poictiers. In an encounter the French had the advantage over the Aquitans, but the superiority was not sufficient to reduce them. Subsequently the Count of Perigord took the lead beyond the Loire, humbled the Count of Poitou and captured Tours, which he gave in fief to the Count of Anjou. Hugh interfered, and indignantly asked the conqueror who had made him a count. "Who made you a king?" was the apt reply. In a few years this proud noble disappeared; a Count of Poictiers resumed the ascendancy of his house, and apparently was not challenged by Hugh.

The king found a more formidable enemy in the Carlovingian prince whom he had dethroned. Hugh had won the clergy to his cause by conceding almost all their demands. The rich abbeys, hitherto sequestered in the hands of laymen, were restored; the church of Laon and Rheims were left all-powerful. The Bishop of Laon recovered a quantity of lands from the possession of the citizens. These had recourse, in consequence, to the dethroned Charles, and by the aid of Arnulph his kinsman, an ecclesiastic, attached to the Church, he got possession of Laon, a strong place.

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Hugh laid siege to it, but could not dispossess his rival. On this occasion, in order to make head against his enemies both in north and south, the king associated with him his son Robert, who was crowned king, although Adalbero of Rheims, who consecrated the prince, was unwilling thus to sanction and secure the hereditary succession. Adalbero having died soon after, and the citizens and churchmen of the cathedral city expressing a wish to elect Arnulph, the same who had betrayed Laon, but who had since rallied to Hugh, and been recommended to him, the king thought it good policy to win such a partisan, and sanction his election to the see of Rheims. Arnulph was no sooner in possession of this dignity, than he made use of it to put Charles in possession of Rheims, as he was already of Laon. The Carlovingian was thus able to raise an army and appear in the field with 4000 men. Hugh demanded aid, says Richer, from the Marne and the Garonne, that is, from those who lived beyond the duchy of France; but his strength was not sufficient to warrant an attack, and the armies separated. Hugh tried other means. He despatched the Bishop of Laon, another Adalbero, to Charles, affecting to have quitted Hugh in anger, in order to rally to his competitor. The bishop, being trusted in consequence, was able to plan and to execute a scheme for the seizure of Charles and Arnulph. It completely succeeded, and Hugh Capet consigned his Carlovingian rival to the prison of Orleans.

It is remarkable that the Carlovingian family should have fallen from the throne, and another dynasty slowly ascended it, without the Papal Power being invoked, or allowed to interfere in the revolution. But, during the tenth century, the Popes were under an eclipse. Distracted by civil war, crushed by the ascendancy of females such as Marozia, subjected to the tyranny of Alberic and Crescentius, and only

rescued from them to fall under that of the German Otho, the Papacy can scarcely be said to have existed in an age, too, of great religious revival. For never was the cry of conscience more powerful, impelling the rude man of those days to undertake the most distant and dangerous pilgrimages, in order to obtain remission of his sins. The belief which prevailed, of an extinction of the world in the year 1000, was more the result than the cause of the universal religious fear, which had fallen upon the minds of men. It must have been produced, in some measure, by the isolation in which persons lived, and by the consequent increase of rustic superstition. The ideas of the convent penetrated into the castle and the palace, and religious reverence was far greater and more universal, than when prelates were uncontrolled lords, and when the Popes intervened and fulminated in every cause and in every society of Christendom.

The resuscitation of the papal power in France took place on the occasion of Hugh Capet's deposition of Arnulph from the see of Rheims. The prelate had been false to two oaths, and in a solemn assembly of bishops he was deposed. Arnulph in defence appealed to Rome, and to the Pope as his only judge. But the plea was rebutted, and in language which would not have been misplaced in the mouth of Luther.

After recapitulating the disgraceful history of the Pontiffs during the last century, an ecclesiastical orator exclaimed, "Whom do you consider that man to be, sitting on a lofty throne, clothed in purple and fine gold? If he want charity, and is merely puffed up by knowledge, it is Antichrist, enthroned in purple, and claiming to be God." "Are the immaculate priests of God throughout the earth," exclaimed again the orator, "conspicuous in learning and in worth, to be subjected to such monsters of human ignominy as the Popes to whom I have alluded?"

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Such a challenge aroused the court of Rome, however sunken at the time, and a legate was sent to cancel the sentence and to nullify the doctrine of this synod. Arnulph had been deposed, and the celebrated Gerbert elected in his stead; but the Papal legate called another council at Chelles, reversed the sentence, and declared Gerbert not duly appointed. Hugh Capet, nevertheless, refused to release Arnulph from prison, and stoutly kept his resolve till his death in 996. His more pious son and successor, Robert, released the captive prelate in order to make his peace with the head of the Church.

Gerbert was the Eginhard of his age, who sought in vain a Charlemagne in Hugh, but fortunately found one in the German Emperor, Otho. A native of Auvergne, bred in the convent of Aurillac, taken up by Borel, Count of Barcelona, who had frequently visited the Holy Land, Gerbert penetrated amongst the Saracens of Spain, and learned the secrets of their science. This, with his taste for mechanics, was sufficient to procure for him the character of a necromancer, and to make him a hero of magical romance. In this character, William of Malmesbury celebrates him in legends, which seem to have inspired the author of the "Monastery." Gerbert, patronized by Adalbero Archbishop of Rheims, became preceptor to Hugh Capet's son, the future King Robert. This brought about his elevation to Rheims, on the deposition of Arnulph. He had previously been Abbot of Bobbio, from which his letters gave no pleasing or contented portraiture of monastic life. When King Robert deserted his cause by liberating Arnulph, Gerbert proceeded to Germany, where he was warmly welcomed by the Emperor Otho, subsequently promoted by him to the archbishopric of Ravenna; and he finally mounted the pontifical chair as Silvester the Second.

Robert, Hugh Capet's son and successor, was a monk upon the throne, who signalised his reign by submission

to Papal injunctions and by a total absence of either ambition or activity. Anxious to avenge the denunciations of Rome uttered at the Council of Rheims, the legates discovered that King Robert was related in some fourth or fifth degree to his Queen Bertha, whom he tenderly loved. The Pope, to show his authority, denounced the marriage as incestuous, and subjected the pious Robert to excommunication. For several years the king clung to his wife, but was at last obliged to divorce her; and he subsequently espoused Constance of Aquitaine.

Robert's most troublesome neighbour was Odo, Count of Champagne as well as of Tours and Blois. This chief, wishing to connect his counties, seized upon Melun, which gave him passage over the Seine. Robert could not dislodge him without obtaining Norman aid. The death of the king's relative, the Duke of Burgundy, drove Robert into more distant war. The nobles of the duchy refused to recognise him. He brought an army of 30,000 Normans to enforce his sovereignty. With them he laid siege to Auxerre, defended by the Count of Nevers, but was unable to reduce it; and Robert gave his sister to the Count's son in marriage, in order to induce his submission. The Count acquired Franche Comté, as the county of Burgundy was then called, Robert obtaining the recognition of his son, Henry, as duke of the whole province. Robert's chief acquisition was the important town of Sens. The count was accused of judaizing, favouring the wealthy Jews. The archbishop and his clergy, therefore, plotted to depose him, in which they succeeded; and the French kings, though for a time they acquired but half, eventually added the entire city to their domain.

The great war of the period was not waged by King Robert, but by Foulques Nerra, Count of Anjou, aided by the Count of Lemans, against Odo, Count of Champagne. Its chief event was a battle fought at

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Pontlevoi in 1016, in which many thousands are said to have perished. The chronicles enumerate fourteen castles, which, with many others unnamed, were erected by Foulques. The building of churches kept pace with that of castles. Splendid ecclesiastical structures arose in every town. The cathedral of St. Martin of Tours, burnt about this time, was rebuilt with great magnificence. Robert repaired the church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois in Paris, and built that of St. Germain des Prés. "At this time," says Raduph Glaber, "churches were rebuilt all through the universe, especially in Italy and Gaul. One would think the world had agreed to shake off its old rags, to put on the white robe of churches. And not only cathedrals and monasteries, but the chapels of villages were restored."

The reign of Robert, so insignificant in itself, is remarkable for the variety of new ideas which then took birth, and of new movements which commenced. Norman severity produced the first rising of peasants against their feudal lords. What they most complained of, was not the conditions of land tenure, but the vexatious mode of dispensing justice, with no end of pleas and fines, and still more especially the new pretensions of their lords to exclude the peasantry from the use of forest and river, with the rights of hunting and fishing. The Carlovingian monarchs had their preserves; but the Normans were the first who established rigorous game-laws as necessary to the maintenance of sport. The kings of France did not follow the example till much later. Philip Augustus soon after his accession first walled the park of Vincennes, as Rigord mentions; and Henry the Second sent up from Normandy by the Seine boat-loads of game to stock the woods of Vincennes.

At the same time commenced the agitation in towns, and amongst townsfolk, against feudal exactions, and tyranny of a similar kind. In these early times, the

inhabitants of towns were by no means capitalists, traders, and artisans; living, as is now the case, on resources distinct from the land. The townsfolk, on the contrary, were generally proprietors or cultivators of land in their vicinity. In remote and completely rustic districts, the small owner of ground found no protection, save by doing homage to the feudal chief of the region. His land and person were thus absorbed in the domain and the lordship of his superior. The townsmen were not always under the same necessity. In many regions, especially in Italy and the south of France, and on the Rhine, the old Roman traditions and habits of municipal government survived. These enabled the Italian cities, the maritime ones first, to shake off all supremacy, and constitute themselves as republics. In the south of France, they elected consuls, or town counts. In Germany, towns naturally fell under the jurisdiction of the emperor or of his Vogt; from whence, the emperor being so often absent, and so much in need of succour, it was but a step to the liberty of appointing their own magistrates. In most places, however, the bishop inherited the imperial authority; which was but natural, as in time of conquest, and under a conquering race, the bishop was the compatriot and protector of the subject community. The lordship of townsfolk was not fiercely contested or grievously abused, until taxation became resuscitated and multiplied: when fines on judicial proceedings, amercements, tolls, and even direct taxation, began to be levied, it then grew important to get and to keep possession of a town, or half a town. In Amiens, for example, the king's bailiff held a portion of the houses, the count another, the bishop a third, whilst the lord of Boves, a castle contiguous, put in his claim, and frequently warred upon all three.

Such, at least, was the anomalous state of things between Loire and Meuse. In the south, the citizens

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established their independence. In England and Normandy, the kings early recognised certain rights in the burgesses.* The town paid a fixed *ferm*, and in return had several privileges. In those of the duchy of France, such as Paris and Orleans, the king was indisputably predominant, but ordonnances restrained any undue severity of his provosts. In Paris, moreover, there were guilds, which procured a degree of freedom to certain corporations, notably to that of the boatmen. But it was in towns of mixed jurisdiction, especially in those situated in that belt of territory which divided Germany from France, and which extended from the Somme to the Meuse, that the citizens suffered most grievances, and struggled most actively for relief. Most of these, such as Amiens, Beauvais, Cambray, Valenciennes, Laon, and Rheims, were episcopal towns. At first the bishop wielded paramount and unquestioned authority; but the citizens had a voice in the election of their prelate, and thus exercised a certain amount of precaution and control. Sometimes the bishop, after election, proved a rapacious tyrant, and then there was no remedy, save the townspeople meeting in the public square, and swearing to support each other in the maintenance of a *commune* or municipality. The people of Cambray leagued in 957, to expel and keep out their archbishop, but were overcome by the hosts of the emperor. In 1024, they renewed the attempt, with the same result. The Count of Flanders aided them later in obtaining the object of their desires. Ecclesiastical writers speak most bitterly of the *commune* and its partisans, wherever they appeared; as they deprived the Church precisely of those subjects and that jurisdiction which gave most power and wealth. But the lay aristocracy do not seem as yet animated by that

* Such as the privileges granted to Domfront. For the liberties left, even by the Conqueror, to towns in England, see Palgrave.

contempt and hatred for townsfolk, which, after the crusades, became gradually part of their character.

Amidst these struggles of each class to attain some degree of freedom and independence, the dominant sentiment of the age was indisputably that of religious fear. The ravages and ruin, the sweeping destruction of property and life during the tenth century, had reduced men's minds to a state of permanent panic, from whence had sprung the belief that the world would terminate in the year 1000. Even the non-fulfilment of such an expectation did not relieve men from heavy presentiment. A rude and lawless age gave occasion to many crimes; the best mode of atoning for which was to undertake long pilgrimages. These were at first directed to Mount St. Michel, Mount Garganus, or to Rome. Bernard, Abbot of Beaulieu, going to Rome on a pilgrimage, was so disgusted with the infamies of Pope John that he hurried away. Similar sentiments of disgust may have induced many to prefer the more tedious journey to Jerusalem. This was at first undertaken by sea. But King Stephen of Hungary, being converted to christianity, opened the way by land, says Glaber, to pilgrims from the west. Foulques Nerra of Anjou had been twice to the Holy Land; and such pilgrims were regarded with great veneration. How great then was the sensation when tidings arrived in 1009 that Hakim, Kaliff of Egypt, had utterly destroyed the Holy Sepulchre. This was followed by rapidly succeeding accounts of the extortions and indignities practised upon pilgrims. The pious resentment thus created received fresh food and impulses every year, until at last it produced the great movement of the crusades.

But before armies, with pious intent and hostile array, took the road to the Holy Land, a piece of good fortune befel some Norman adventurers who were visiting the Roman shrines, and added incentives of greed and conquest to those of penitence and religion.

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Pope Benedict besought these Normans to aid him against the Greeks, then occupying the duchy of Beneventum. Rodolph and his companions attacked the Greeks, and soon replaced them as lords of the duchy. Word was soon passed to their native land of Normandy, that wealth and estates were to be won by the stout arm of the military adventurer in southern climes. A stream of soldiers accordingly began to flow over the Alps; they overran Apulia, and led to the foundation of the Norman kingdom of Naples. The success of this enterprise had not only a great influence on future expeditions to the Holy Land, but was one of the main causes which prompted William to undertake the conquest of England.

Whilst the populace maltreated and massacred the Jews, and the military noblesse were getting up enthusiasm and associations for invading Palestine, the clergy relit the flames of persecution for heretics. According to Glaber, a woman of many accomplishments brought from Italy to Orleans the tenets of a sect, with which she contrived to inoculate the clergy and teachers of that town. This sect impugned the Trinity, denied the value of good works, those at least which the Church pretended to have amassed. It doubted the nature of the Eucharist as interpreted by Rome, and declared that it possessed an earlier and a purer tradition than that Church. Claude, Bishop of Turin, was the most eminent and most early professor of such doctrines. If not the founder, he was the earliest expounder (he lived in the 9th century) of the religious opinions of the Vaudois or Waldenses. Several of the clergy of Orleans, on being interrogated, professed to hold those doctrines, and they were burned in consequence in the great square of the town, Constance, queen of Robert, being foremost in inveteracy against them. Thus was inaugurated in France another cruel habit; perpetuated by the great power accruing from it to the Church, which found in

accusations of heresy a more powerful instrument of vengeance and of gain, than in the discovery and denunciation of incest, which had been hitherto its most potent and lucrative engine.

King Robert suffered equally from the tyranny of the clergy and from that of his second wife, Constance. She induced her husband to place the crown on the head of her eldest son, Hugh. Upon his death she preferred her third son, Robert, to his brother Henry. The king, however, felt the prudence as well as justice of securing the succession to Henry; which did not prevent both sons from rebelling against him. When King Robert died in 1031, they disputed the succession; Robert aided by the Count of Champagne, Henry by the Duke of Normandy. The latter was the most powerful, and by his aid Henry I. was recognised as King, his brother Robert obtaining the duchy of Burgundy.

There is no one of the great feudal families of France, the history of whose chiefs and exploits would not be far more interesting than those of the monarchs of France in the eleventh century. Power and action were to be found at Rouen, at Chartres, or at Troyes, not in Paris. The Duke of Normandy especially led and represented the spirit of the age, to which the Capets seemed strangers. A Duke Richard of Normandy conducted or furnished that military force which maintained King Robert, not only on the throne of Paris, but in the suzerainty of Burgundy. His son, another Duke Richard, marched across France in the later years of King Robert, to avenge his own wrong on the person of a Count of Chalons-sur-Soane, whom he overcame and humbled. So that it was really the Norman Duke more than the French King, whose ascendancy was recognised even to the borders of Lorraine. This Duke Richard had a younger brother, Robert, who rebelled, and who began by standing a siege in Falaise. Unable to maintain himself there, he feigned submission,

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and in token of it, invited his brother, the duke, with his chief followers, to a banquet In consequence of eating of its meats, the duke and the other guests died, an event which gave Normandy to Robert, and assigned him, in popular estimation and parlance, the name of Robert the Devil.

If the mode which he employed for acquiring sovereignty gained him such a title, the way in which he wielded it, procured him the more honourable one of Robert the Magnificent. Having first humbled such of his own barons or neighbours as denied his authority, Robert came forward as the patron and support of weak princes against the strong, who sought to despoil them. Thus he protected Henry of France against the Count of Champagne, Baldwin of Flanders against his rebellious son. And he endeavoured also to aid the cause of two young Anglo-Saxon princes against Canute the Dane, who had deprived them of their heritage. Canute scouted the demand, and Robert, in revenge, prepared the first naval expedition in the ports of Normandy against the kingdom of England. It failed at the time, but it commenced the relations of the Norman dukes with the Anglo-Saxon royal family, and set the example of turning such relations to account by the aid of a military force.

The birth of chivalry is generally assigned to this period, the middle of the eleventh century. The chronicles of Robert the Magnificent show him to have been imbued with the spirit, in ever espousing the cause of the weak. This, one of the noblest characteristics of chivalry, was, no doubt, owing to the preaching of the clergy, who first directed their efforts to the same end. Unable to accomplish it save by the warrior's sword, they contrived to introduce ceremonies and vows into the profession of arms. This made knighthood a religious as well as a feudal ceremony. In blessing the weapon and mail of the youth who for the first time

wielded or wore them, they enjoined an oath, by which he promised to be humane as well as pious. Whilst this union of devotion, and even asceticism, became the spirit of northern chivalry, the southern blended the warrior's duty with softer sentiments. The poet, in lieu of the priest, drew up its code, and presided over its festivities. Devotion and enthusiasm, instead of being exclusively paid to monastic objects, were turned to the worship of the female sex, and to the idealising of it, so as to render it a meet object of poetic and chivalric adoration. Such a peculiar and attractive view of sentiment and ideal of heroism could not prevail in one region, without exercising vast influence over the other. And although the north long resisted, and mingled its sombre colours with the bright tints of the south, the amatory sentiment joined to the devotional prevailed throughout Europe, and aided immensely in raising the social position of the weaker sex.

One of the causes which produced this in the south was the greater prevalence of life in towns, and the admixture of classes which was its consequence. Social intercourse increased: even the lords of châteaux saw more of each other. And as the country became settled, it furnished ampler revenues to exchange for the luxuries of the East or the productions of the town. The castle found its amusements, not only in tournays and martial exercise, but also in the songs or stories of poets and reciters. The noble classes themselves undertook this profession, cultivated the gay science, and blended the attributes of the troubadour with those of the knight: these found their best patrons in noble ladies, who, especially in the south, inherited landed property and rank. It was thus that gallantry came to combat asceticism, and to substitute passion and poetry for rudeness and monasticity. We shall find, hereafter, how this secularising and worldly tendency so far weaned the southerns from the Church, at least of Rome, that it

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awakened the vindictiveness of the Popes, and produced disastrous consequences to the land. If the peculiar religious tenets and freedom fostered by the first development of the southern intellect was destined to perish, it was not so with the social sentiment. The admixture of gallantry and chivalry, which survived the sombre period of the crusades, settled down into the modern code and universal though unwritten institution of gentility, which still gives the law to European society, and its tone to the educated mind. Another result of this impulse to intellect, to converse and to poetry, was the formation and perfection of the French tongue; divided at first into two distinct dialects, the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oil;* the former containing a far larger element of the Latin, and the latter being the most perfect amalgamation of the language of north and south; thereby fitted to be, what it has ever proved, the most convenient medium between the races of the two extremities of Europe.

When Henry of France had been upon the throne some years, the puissant support of Normandy failed him, Robert the Devil, or the Magnificent, setting forth on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from which he never returned. Normandy devolved upon his son William the Bastard, son of a tanner's daughter, Harlette of Falaise, who, for some years a minor, could offer neither aid nor umbrage to the King of France. Fortunately for the latter, Eudes of Champagne was slain in battle about the same time, and his large possessions divided. Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, and son of Foulques Nerra, became the most puissant Lord of France, and Henry, of course, sought and happily obtained his protection. The Emperor Conrad was then the great rival of France and of its king, to whom the Lorrainers at one time offered themselves. On Henry's declining to engage in such a contest, Eudes of Champagne took it up and disputed Swiss Burgundy with Conrad, and was the

champion of French interests against German supremacy. When he failed, France had but to succumb, and the German Emperor established his undisputed suzerainty, not only in Lorraine but over a considerable part of Burgundy, besides compelling Baldwin of Flanders to do homage to him as emperor, and to cease his connexion with France. The weakness of Henry presented for the time a permanent bar to the extension of French suzerainty northwards.

During the minority of the Duke of Normandy, the sons of Eudes of Champagne threatened King Henry, and got possession of Eudes, the king's eldest imbecile brother, in order to use his pretensions as a pretext for war. Henry implored the succour of Geoffrey Martel, Duke of Anjou, promising him the county of Tours or Touraine in recompense; that chieftain defeated the Champainers, took one of them prisoner, put the other to flight, and thus united the possession of Tours to that of Anjou.

Henry thought to make use of the same puissant Angevin to counterbalance the power and ambition of the Duke of Normandy as this prince rose to manhood. But William the Bastard proved too strong for Geoffrey. The latter having seized Domfront, William hastened to lay siege to it; whilst so engaged he heard that the fortress of Alençon was ill-guarded, and might be surprised. He hurried thither, accomplished the capture, and hanged the garrison, after having cut off their feet and hands, in retaliation for their taunting him with being descended from a tanner. Somewhat later a more direct quarrel arose between Henry and William, in consequence of the Count of Arques, whom the latter had exiled, being sustained and abetted by the lieges of Henry. They enabled him to reseize Arques, William besieged it; the French were proceeding to its succour, when the Normans surprised and defeated them. Henry himself was at the head of the main army; but when

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William conveyed him the news of the previous defeat the king immediately withdrew. The object of Henry in this was to recover the Vexin which he had ceded to Normandy, as the price of its early support. All the attempts of the king failed, and William remained in possession of the disputed province, contented with repelling, and scorning to take vengeance upon, so feeble a suzerain.

Henry had taken a singular, but very natural, precaution for the time. This was to procure for himself a queen who could not possibly be within the limits of consanguinity forbidden by the Church. To secure this great immunity he espoused a Russian Princess, Anne, daughter of the Czar, Jaraslaw. This queen in 1053 bore Philip, whom his father caused to be crowned with great solemnity in the year 1059.

This ceremony has been circumstantially described and recorded by the Archbishop of Rheims himself, who was the principal officiator, and who wrote the record in order to demonstrate the indefeasible right of the metropolitan of Rheims to crown the French monarchs —a right derived from St. Remi, who crowned Clovis, and from Pope Hormisdas, who in the sixth century conferred this privilege. The coronation oath was that the future king would defend the clergy, a fitting one for the early Capets. The nobles present were the Duke of Aquitaine, the deputies of the Duke of Burgundy, of the Count of Flanders, of Anjou, of Valois, of Vermandois, of Soissons, of Auvergne, De la Marche, Angoulême and Limoges. The ceremony being over, "Then all, great and small, knights and people, gave with unanimous voice their approbation, and cried three times, We approve and decree that it should be so."

Henry survived his son's coronation but a year.

Philip the First was, as much as his sire and grandsire, a stranger to the great events which marked his

reign. The conquest of England by the Normans, the struggle commenced by Gregory the Seventh to dispossess the feudal noblesse, and its royal or imperial chiefs of the hold which they had taken both of the possessions and the supremacy of the Church, the simultaneous effort of the civic class to shake off the same feudal yoke, and finally the reckless imprudence of the nobles to risk their persons and squander their resources in the attempt to conquer the Holy Land—in these Philip took no part.

William of Normandy demanded aid in his expedition against England, promising in return to do homage for that kingdom, should he succeed. The councillors of the young king and Baldwin his guardian declined to engage in an enterprise so hazardous, which would provoke lasting enmity in England if unsuccessful, and if successful would raise the Dukes of Normandy far above the Kings of France. Adventurers and nobles from all parts flocked notwithstanding to William's standard, who was thus enabled to land in England at the head of fifty thousand men. The numbers as well as the quality and conduct of the army which Harold opposed to them, is a subject of dispute amongst British historians. But the war was more a personal than a national struggle. It was the Normans who subsequently rendered it such by their rapacity. And had not the English been far behind their French neighbours and rivals in the development of feudalism, in the erection and maintenance of fortresses and strongholds, the conquest might not have been accomplished.

Whilst the Anglo-Norman kingdom was in course of formation on one side of Philip's infant and quiet realm of France, an Italian monk conceived, and set himself to accomplish the more gigantic task of resuscitating the western empire with all its supremacy and pretensions, in favour of those pontiffs who had become seated on the throne of the Cæsars. The rivalry between lay

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and ecclesiastical authority, between the noble and the prelate, the knight and the monk, had never ceased during the dark ages, the iron necessities of the time subjecting and dispossessing the churchmen, who still never gave up the fight. What menaced the independence and rights as well as the influence of the clergy, was the universal establishment of feudalism, which monopolised the land, portioning it out with the population fixed upon it exclusively for the purposes of military defence. Monasteries and prelacies did not escape; both became fiefs, and often military fiefs. As monarchy declined, and as the power and wealth of Western Europe became divided amongst a baronial aristocracy, prelates, and even abbots managed to take rank as independent nobles, with their own rights of jurisdiction. But this rendered church dignities a more valuable prize, and the younger scions of the aristocracy grasped them.

The comprehension of the ranks and property of the Church in the feudal system became facilitated by the growing habit of offering and accepting monied payment in lieu of military service. It was the most natural way in which the clergy, like the townsfolk, might contribute to the defence of the state and the power of the sovereign. Pecuniary payments, however, led the way to great abuses. There could be no great extortion or oppression in requiring a greater number of soldiers than a territory can furnish. But even feudalism was ingenious in the extortion of money. An ecclesiastic newly appointed to a benefice could not refuse to show his gratitude for the boon by the abandonment of the first year's revenue. Candidates were soon found to outbid each other. And the revenues of the Church were thus diverted to lay lords, and made the subject of sale and purchase. The respect and reverence of the population were withheld from a clergy which thus acquired authority, and the interests of religion

were menaced to a degree which shocked the pious monarch as well as the zealous ecclesiastic. In the hour of peril the Church found and sent forth one of its most redoubtable champions. This was Hildebrand, whose keen and ardent spirit saw in the gradual increase of lay ascendancy the fatal result of a secularisation and absorption of the clergy.

This remarkable man was the son of a carpenter in the neighbourhood of Sienna. He received his education in one of his country's convents, and rose to be prior of the monastery of Cluny, in France. He could not have been in a better position for experiencing as well as seeing the spoliation and the oppression of the clergy. Whilst other prelates saw a remedy for this in the clergy becoming feudal chiefs, and even warriors, Hildebrand conceived that it were better to arm the clergy with a moral power, to separate them completely from secular society, and organise them into a spiritual militia under an ecclesiastical head. Hildebrand's idea was to enforce the celibacy of the clergy as well as that of the monks; to denounce simony and all compacts with lay lords for the holding or appropriation of benefices; to rally round the Papal Chair, and make use of its protection and its arms to defend the cause and independence of the Church.

Fortunately for the inauguration of such a scheme, there was an emperor zealous against simony and approving ecclesiastical resistance to it. By the authority of this emperor, Bruno, archbishop of Toul, was elected Pope, and on his way to Italy sojourned for a time at Cluny. Hildebrand's views agreed with those of the new Pontiff, whom he persuaded not to owe his election to an imperial *fiat*, but to cause himself to be re-elected by the clergy and people of Rome. Bruno followed the advice, at which the emperor did not take umbrage. Hildebrand, in consequence, became powerful at the court of Rome, and attained, first as minister,

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and subsequently as Pope Gregory the Seventh, the power of realising his views.

How could he hope to emancipate the prelates or clergy, whilst the Popedom itself and the Italian hierarchy were in the appointment of the emperor? Hildebrand's first care was to institute the mode of electing the Pontiff by the cardinals. And his efforts were then directed towards making the investiture of all European prelates depend upon the Holy See, and not upon either king or emperor. Could Gregory have limited such an effort to Italy, and invoked nationality in support of it, he might, by a spiritual emancipation of his native land, have proceeded to vindicate the just independence of the Transalpine churches. But Gregory and Italy were blended in one jurisdiction; there was no freeing the one without attacking the other. The enormous pretensions of the Emperor of Germany to wield the traditional right of the Cæsars, necessitated the putting forth of claims all as extravagant by the Popes. And thus Gregory and his successors were led to oppose spiritual to imperial Cæsardom.

The struggle, although the important one of the epoch, we are not called upon to trace or to narrate. It was not the force of the Papal storm, but merely its subsidiary showers that fell upon France; and whilst the throne of the German emperor was shattered by it, the humble seat of the kings of France grew loftier and firmer. The Henries and the Philips were, indeed, of not sufficient importance and weight to attract the concentrated hostility of Rome. The great dioceses were independent of the kings. And in the councils, which Hildebrand and other Popes or legates held in France to eradicate and put down simony, it was not so much against the king as the many-headed aristocracy of France that it was necessary to fulminate. Philip indeed, like all the prudent potentates

of his time, sought to grasp at monied revenues. In the struggle which ensued between the Norman kings of England and his son Louis, the complaint was, that the English monarchs had money sufficient to pay soldiers, whilst the Kings of France had but their feudal following.* Philip therefore exacted a price from all the prelates he appointed or promoted; and he levied taxes on the merchants and merchandise that traversed his dominions. In a letter that is extant, Hildebrand denounced both these measures as infamous and degrading to royalty.

A heresy of a more serious nature drew Hildebrand's attention and presence to France. This was the doctrine maintained by Berengar of Tours, that Christ's presence in the Holy Sacrament was not bodily, but spiritual and in a degree figurative. The contrary he denounced as a novel interpretation. If novel, it was not unsuited to the age, far more fitted for the reverence of mystery than the discussion of truth, and Berengar was four centuries before his time.

In all religious controversies two different tendencies and kinds of motive seem to prevail. The one seeks to increase the intensity of religious feeling by expanding to the utmost the grandeur and power, the excellence and majesty, of either the person or the thing revered. Such a method of distorting truth seems nothing but salutary to an ignorant age. But in such schemes for spiritually awing and enthralling the multitude, lurks the danger of disgusting the few, who, with the torch of learning and the guidance of an enlightened conscience, seek solely after truth. They are desirous of reconciling the mysteries and anomalies of religion with the exigencies of their moral dignity and reasoning sense. And unfortunately they can seldom accomplish this, except by schism from

* Suger calls William Rufus a *militiæ mercator.*

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the churches, which have erected dogmas on the basis of religious expediency and divine glorification.

Unhappily the Popedom, in the modern development of its powers, was founded on the principle of enhancing spiritual authority to the uttermost, and of strengthening that spiritual authority by every assumption, every pretension, and every assertion that could conduce to such an end. For this no means were spared, whether of violence or fraud. The forging of documents, the falsification of history, the fabrication of law, were unscrupulously employed or adopted. No wresting of right, and no perversion of fact, were considered unwarrantable, provided they contributed to the rearing of that throne which was to hold the minds as well as the souls and bodies of men in thrall.

Inferior as they were in the chivalric virtues of the age, the early Capets seem to have found the true way of dealing with Papal pretensions and ecclesiastical hostility. They bowed before the storm when it blew strong, and stood erect when its fury was passed, or when its energy had relaxed. Instead of braving the Popes, like the German emperors, the kings of France received their mandates with humility, feigned obsequiousness, but in practice paid small attention to their behests. Even in cases in which ecclesiastical censure was difficult to elude, such as simony or taxing the clergy, Philip contrived to set the Papal power at nought. He repudiated in dislike his wife, Bertha of Holland, and subsequently becoming enamoured of Bertrade, wife of Foulques the Rechin, Count of Anjou; he carried her off, and induced a bishop to celebrate a marriage between them. The Church interfered, and condemned and anathematised, setting France under an interdict. Philip assumed the garb and demeanour of a penitent: but he not the less retained Queen Bertrade, and in his humility and tergiversation baffled and wearied the Pope into acquiescence.

The only feat of arms recorded of Philip was an invasion of Flanders, undertaken in concert with the chief who governed Normandy for William the Conqueror. It is the first of the almost innumerable attempts made by French kings to acquire the mastery over that rich and populous region. Its result strongly resembled that of every succeeding effort. The Flemings rose in numbers to repel the joint invasion of French and Normans. The Norman leader was slain, and King Philip was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for his escape from the vengeance of the Flemings. This was in 1071.

Robert the Frison, who achieved this victory over the French, owed it to the numbers and gallantry of the Flemish townsfolk, who had developed their industry and established a degree of municipal freedom far beyond those of their French neighbours.

These were eager to follow so profitable an example. The people of Cambray in the same year, after the victory of the Flemings, rebelled for the third time against their bishop, and forbade him entering their walls. This stubbornness Bishop Gerard overcame by promises and blandishments, which were no sooner successful, than the knights in the service of the bishop attacked and slew the principal citizens: not a satisfactory way of terminating the feud, which in these regions chiefly existed between townsmen and bishops.

The word *commune*, or municipality, at this time (1076) made use of by the people of Cambray, is first recorded as having been employed a few years previous, in 1070, by the inhabitants of Le Mans. This province had been conquered and retained somewhat unjustly by the Duke of Normandy. The townspeople of Le Mans had shaken off his yoke, and restored their allegiance to a count of their ancient stock. From him, or from his guardian, they experienced little gratitude; being poor, he was more ambitious in his exactions than

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even the Normans. The inhabitants of Le Mans therefore rebelled, and, in imitation of the southern municipalties, made and swore a *commune*, which not merely established their immunities from arbitrary jurisdiction and taxation, but formed a kind of republic, which marched to the attack of neighbouring nobles, and began a war both with the aristocracy and the Church. Le Mans was not in a region favourable for the success of such endeavours. And William the Conqueror, when he returned from England, found no difficulty in reducing them. But whilst destroying their independence, the Norman regranted to the people of Le Mans their ancient privileges.

William the Conqueror, although one of the great legislators and completers of feudalism, was not inspired with hatred or contempt of the civic classes. Tradesmen and townsfolk had swelled his expeditionary army to England, and more than one had fought his way to the dignity of baron in the conquered land. Instead of being animated by class jealousy at home, the princes and nobles of that time conceived a project disinterested, however visionary in its aim: the immediate effect of which was to transfer a great portion of the landed wealth of the country to the townsfolk, who were possessed of capital, and with the wealth no small portion of influence and ascendancy.

This project was a crusade for the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and the conquest of the Holy Land. The acts of Caliph Hakim at the commencement of the century, his slaughter of the Christians, and destruction of the Temple have been mentioned, as well as the pain and excitement they created. Subsequent to Hakim, less ferocious Caliphs permitted the influx of western pilgrims into Syria. And the numbers of these increased in a wonderful and even formidable degree. In 1054 a bishop of Cambray went at the head of 3000

pilgrims to Palestine. Ten years later 10,000 took the same road under an archbishop of Mayence.

Nor were the noblesse behind the prelates. Foulques Nerra of Anjou, as before observed, had been more than once to the Holy Land. The father of William the Conqueror, Robert the Magnificent, died on his way thither. Frederic, Count of Verdun, Robert the Frison, Count of Flanders, performed the same pilgrimage. They and their suites, in which were always ecclesiastics, filled the country on their return with accounts of the exactions and indignities suffered in the performance of an act of piety. The desire thus arose to undertake the pilgrimage no longer with scrip and staff, but with sword and spear, and thus secure for future generations the privilege and facility of fulfilling what had become almost one of the necessary duties of religion.

It was in France, or in the country now comprised under that name, that chiefly sprung up the great impulse of the crusades. It was in the same region, between Alps and Pyrenees, Ocean and Rhine, that chivalry received its fullest development. Both were peculiarly free and spontaneous movements: no great sovereignty existed there, no paramount influence; the princes and nobles of the land forming a kind of republic united in sentiment though divided in power, and actuated as yet by no one common interest or motive. England had passed under fierce and unrelenting monarchs, who were fully occupied in maintaining themselves. Spain was engaged in its domestic strife with the Saracens. Germany and Italy were convulsed and absorbed by the great quarrel which Hildebrand had opened, but which had recoiled upon himself and his successors, subjecting them to every ignominy and disaster, and causing a ruin of the eternal city itself, more destructive of monuments and of life than all that Goth and Vandal had inflicted.

France was involved in no such strife. Royal power

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as yet existed there but in embryo; clergy and aristocracy were one. The burgesses in the *communes* inspired but little jealousy or fear. Throughout the eleventh century the French were chiefly occupied and moved by schemes of heroic adventure. At its commencement the Normans conquered South Italy; England was subdued in 1066. Numberless were the expeditions to Spain. Whilst armed ambition thus set the example of glory and of conquest, pilgrims of all classes hied to Jerusalem, and suffered there every ignominy, cruelty, and exaction at the hands of the Turks, who had poured down from the Caspian, and superseded the milder and more civilised Arabs in the spiritual and temporal lordship of the great continent. Amongst the pilgrims the clergy were not the least numerous; and these, as well as laymen, suffered countless injuries. This was at the time when the western clergy pretended to rule the world, and when the pride of the warrior was such as scarcely to brook a rival. The indignities inflicted by the Mohammedans on the Christians, as well as on the sacred places of Judea, were rankling for well nigh a century on the European mind; when two men appeared to unite this universal resentment into one great impulse and act. The chief agent in this great work was Peter the Hermit. Others, indeed, had expressed the wish or broached the idea. Gerbert had pointed out the necessity of Europe resisting the armed infidelity of the Mussulman. Gregory the Seventh conceived the idea of sending the Latins to save the Greek Church and Empire from the Turks, and take the opportunity of subjecting them both to Rome. But schemes conceived in mere policy seldom lay hold on the popular mind. A monk in his simplicity lit up the flame, which papal craft could but fan or appropriate. Peter, a monk from the deserts of Armenia, visited the Holy Land, and had the care to note all the acts of tyranny practised by the Turks. He

consulted the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who pointed out that the Holy City could have no hope of relief from the Greek Emperor, but that the Latin Church and Western princes could alone save it. Peter the Hermit returned from Syria full of this idea, which he hastened to communicate to the Pope. Urban was at this time in South Italy, beaten down by the Emperor and the lay party, scarcely able to enter Rome, and confined in his resources to the oblations of a few monasteries. Urban was a Franciscan, who knew his countrymen, and who seized upon Peter the Hermit's idea of crusade, not only as a holy aim in itself, but as one likely to rally round the Pope the power and the chivalry of Western Christendom. He preached the project, or rather he sent forth the eloquent and enthusiastic Peter to preach it; and he summoned a great assembly of clergy and laity to meet in the plains of Piacenza. They did so; but the Pope, instead of coming to a compromise with the Emperor, and impelling Germany and Italy as well as France to the crusade, occupied the council with infamous anecdotes against the Emperor, and, in fact, with the details of his own quarrel. This cooled the ardour of the Italians, and disgusted rather than reconciled them with an expedition of which Urban was the great promoter. The Pope, therefore, turned his views towards France; sent Peter the Hermit before him, and followed leisurely himself, to convoke another great assembly of laity and clergy.

Peter the Hermit is depicted by William of Tyre as a man of small stature and even miserable appearance, but with a penetrating eye, an easy and persuasive eloquence. Preceding Urban, he visited the capitals of the different princes, relating what he had seen, and communicating the enthusiasm that he felt. Nor did he confine his eloquence to courts; he summoned popular meetings, and harangued them in order to win the adhesion of the people, as well as of the knightly classes.

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In November, 1095, Urban opened the great assembly of Clermont. The Papal address is not a little singular. The Christian Pontiff commenced by taking a Jewish view of the holy city. Judea was the Lord's heritage, and Jerusalem his especial crown of glory. And if he sometimes repudiated it, and turned away from it, this was only with a promise of future redemption. The Saracens were in possession of it, the sons of Ishmael, who had no part in the inheritance, and should be driven from it.

With eloquence more true, Urban told the assembled warriors to turn against the enemies of Christ and of the faith, those arms that had been imbrued in the blood of brethren. Those guilty of robbery, murder, rapine, and other profane crimes could have no share in the kingdom of heaven, unless they redeemed such sins by a crusade like the present. The address of Pope Urban was responded to by a general exclamation of "*God wills it.*" The Pope then ordained that every one who undertook to march against the infidels, should have a cloth cross of bright colour sewn upon his garments. This at once assimilated the crusaders to those who had taken up the cross in the time of the Saviour, and rendered powerful and apt the injunction, "Whosoever does not take up the cross and follow me, the same is unworthy of me."

The chief personages who assumed the cross in consequence of the assembly of Clermont, are enumerated by William of Tyre, as Hugh, brother of King Philip of France, the Count of Vernandois, the two Roberts, Counts of Flanders and of Normandy, Stephen Count of Chartres, and Raymond of St. Gilles, Lord of Provence and Toulouse; also the three famous brothers, Godfrey of Bouillon, Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne. The Bishop of Puy, as the most zealous crusading prelate, was appointed as Papal legate to join the expedition.

The name of King Philip does not appear in this list. He was indeed excommunicated on account of his marriage by Urban, at this very council of Clermont; so little did the Pope deem the King of France's countenance of importance to the expedition. In fact, the Pontiff seemed to desire that none but secondary potentates should take part in it, hoping, no doubt, to secure to the Holy See the suzerainty of all conquests in Palestine. William of Nangis, however, mentions that in the month of February in the following year, Hugh the Great was present at a council of French crusaders, held in Paris, in the presence of King Philip. The resolutions taken at that council were not wise. For Hugh, with his French followers, took the road through South Italy, where many were carried off by malady, and the prince, embarking at Bari for Durazzo, was taken by order of the Greek emperor, and carried a captive to Constantinople.

The year following the preaching of the crusade was one of great scarcity, so that the people who were not in the dependence or employ of some feudal lord were in complete destitution. These waifs of rustic society mustered to the number of 40,000, and set off under Peter the Hermit, as a leader, across Hungary to Asia; a multitude, but almost as unprovided and undisciplined, having but six knights with them, took the same road previously under *Gaultier Sans Avoir*. Both of these hordes came to fierce quarrels and combats with the Hungarians and Bulgarians, and reached Constantinople diminished in numbers. Although allowing them to pass some time without the walls of Constantinople, the Emperor Alexis transported them over to Ghemlik, on the Asiatic coast, at the head of the gulf of Mondania. He enjoined them not to provoke the Mussulmans; an advice they of course neglected, and the consequence was the onslaught and destruction of the vanguard of the crusaders by the Turks.

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Similar bands of German crusaders were not even so fortunate; some of these crossed the Danube, and perished in Hungary; whilst others, checked at the entrance of that country, returned in affright and defeat to towns which they themselves had devastated.

The crusading expedition which issued from France Proper partook of the disorganised state of that country without a chief, without adhesion, or rational purposes. The rulers of large principalities on the frontier evinced much more skill and judgment in forming, maintaining, and conducting their forces. Thus the Provençals, under their Count Raymond, continued to be well provided, while those of other lands were in destitution. But the chiefs whose armies showed most efficacy, were Godfrey of Bouillon, who mustered the forces of the north in Lorraine, and Boemond, son of Robert Guiscard the founder of the kingdom of Naples. When this prince, who was engaged in the siege of Amalfi, heard of the march of so many warriors of his tongue and original country, engaged in a sacred cause, and each abandoning the distinctive cry of his house to adopt that of the council of Clermont, "*God wills it*," he was struck with the religious enthusiasm of the day, and assumed the cross. His preparations, however, had yet to be made, and he delayed the departure of the French crusaders until these were completed.

Meanwhile the army of Lorraine, under Godfrey, which had set forth in August, traversed Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and arrived at the commencement of winter in the plains of Thrace. There Godfrey learned the captivity of Hugh and other French nobles at Constantinople. His first care was to demand their liberation, which, after much parley and dispute with the Greek Emperor, he obtained, when encamped under the walls of Constantinople and about to celebrate the Christmas of 1096. The Emperor Alexis was dis-

trustful of the approach, and fearful of the designs, of the crusaders. He was especially jealous of those who were coming from South Italy, a land from which the Normans had finally expelled the Greeks. Towards Godfrey he behaved with alternate friendship and enmity. It was a law and habit of the country, that none could sell provisions save the Emperor himself. Government had the monopoly of purchase and sales; "and by this," says Albert d'Aix, "the sovereign was enabled to fill his treasury." The crusaders were only anxious to be allowed to purchase; and this Alexis often denied; a refusal which was always followed by attacks and demonstrations on the part of the Latins. Godfrey, however, and his army passed the winter quartered in the small towns along the Bosphorus, the leader himself, if tradition tells us true, remaining encamped under the huge plane tree which still exists and flourishes in the valley of Buyukdere.

Three weeks after Easter Boemond arrived, Godfrey having already passed into Asia. After him came the two Roberts of Normandy and Flanders, Stephen of Blois, and Eustace of Boulogne; all of whom, as well as Raymond of St. Gilles, the Emperor Alexis contrived to wheedle into a kind of homage and acknowledgment of his suzerainty in the East. Tancred of Sicily, Boemond's nephew, alone refused to perform the humiliating act, and passed at once the Straits with his soldiers, to avoid what he considered the ignominy of such allegiance. The united army of crusaders then formed the siege of Nicea. When the city was on the point of surrendering, the Emperor Alexis was sufficiently adroit to intervene, and have it made over to himself. The conquest of Nicea was, however, not achieved without two serious engagements, in which the Italian princes displayed their brilliant valour, and the Flemish Godfrey his firmness and prudence. William, brother of Tancred,

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and Robert of Paris, a renowned warrior, perished in these actions.

Quitting Nicea towards the end of January, the crusaders proceeded by Iconium or Konia, suffering much from privation and from heat. Two of the most adventurous spirits of the army, Baldwin brother of Godfrey, and Tancred, took each with them a chosen band, and advanced by quick marches into Cilicia. The conquest of the province and its littoral was easy, but led to fierce disputes between the rival adventurers. Tancred took Tarsus; Baldwin made himself master of Edessa. At length, on the 18th of October, the crusaders reached Antioch, which they immediately invested, notwithstanding the approach of winter.

Antioch, built in a strong position, was still more strong by its high ramparts and its works of defence. Numerous as were the crusaders, they could not at first invest its circumference nor close up all its issues. Their chief efforts were spent in the building of towers and machines, wherewith to shake and destroy the wall. As long as the fine weather lasted, the siege did not weary out the patience of the besiegers. But when the winter months came, and with winter a scarcity of provisions, then the most valiant in war found their hardihood fail under the pressure of famine. One of the boldest and stoutest warriors, William of Melun, called the Carpenter from the vigour with which he hacked at the enemy, ran away in frenzied despair. Even Peter the Hermit's ardour failed him, and he followed the example. Tancred brought back both the fugitives. A more signal defection was that of Stephen, Count of Chartres, who withdrew to the seaside. On the other hand Raymond of Toulouse, who had shown backwardness during the commencement of the siege, displayed fresh zeal and courage as difficulties thickened, and recovered the good opinion of his comrades. During a truce Boemond contrived to draw one of the Turkish chiefs into his con-

fidence. This man promised to admit the crusaders into one of the towers, and thus make them masters of the city. On the third of January he kept his word, and the crusaders then penetrated into Antioch, which they completely pillaged, sparing not a Mussulman life. "Ten thousand inhabitants," says William of Tyre, "perished in Antioch. There was found there no provisions, but a great quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and riches of every kind. Those who were beggars before became rich at once."

The sack was not well over when Corbogath or Kerbogha, the general of the Seldjoucid Sultan, appeared with an army far superior to the reduced forces of the crusaders. These accordingly became in their turn besieged in Antioch, where they had also to resist the *sorties* of the Turks from the citadel. Ere a month elapsed the crusaders were hard pressed, and many began to despair: when the Bishop of Puy most seasonably announced the discovery of the identical lance point which had pierced the Saviour's side. This was an invention of Raymond's, a fact questioned and disapproved of by Boemond. It was said to be revealed, in a dream or a vision to a female, where this lance was to be found. Unburied it was forthwith, and it was immediately raised at the head of the Christian army on the 28th of January, which marched to attack the Saracens and drive them from Antioch. Hugh the Great of France, and Robert of Normandy, led the advance; and the battle became general over the whole extent of the plain. The Turks, making a circuit, fell upon the division of Boemond and put it to the rout. But he was soon succoured by Godfrey and Tancred, who charged the Turks and put them to flight in turn. These abandoned the plain, to rally on uneven ground, and muster their forces in the ravines. But from these they were also driven by the fury of the crusaders. Corbogath, seeing his army defeated, took

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to flight, leaving the crusaders masters of the field. Boemond was delared Prince of Antioch. The Greek Patriarch John was maintained in the archiepiscopal seat; but finding himself "little useful to the Latins," he withdrew to Constantinople after a time, and the Bishop of Puy's chaplain was appointed in his place.

One of the first acts of the conquerors of Antioch was to despatch Hugh of France and Baldwin of Haynault to Constantinople, to summon the Emperor Alexis to perform his promises, and aid the crusaders in their enterprise upon Jerusalem. Baldwin perished in the journey, and Hugh, although he reached Constantinople, rendered no account of his mission, but betook himself home to France. As for the crusaders themselves, diminished by war and suffering from malady, they languished long in the captured city, delayed to march from it till the year was nearly spent, and did not appear before Jerusalem until a twelvemonth had elapsed after the capture of Antioch. They were not more, says William of Tyre, than forty thousand persons of the two sexes, of which there were but twenty thousand foot soldiers well equipped, and fifteen thousand knights. With such a diminished force did the crusaders pitch their camp on the north side of Jerusalem.

Their first care was to find wood to construct their engines of attack; their next to procure water for their own use. Both were no easy task. The garrison of Jerusalem, however, was by no means so formidable as that of Antioch. The Seldjoucid Turks had been driven from it by the Caliph of Egypt, in whose name the defence was carried on. The garrison allowed the small army of the crusaders to erect their machines, and prepare for the attack. They were much aided by the arrival of some Genoese artificers from a fleet of that nation that had touched at Joppa. When everything was ready for the assault, Peter the Hermit

assembled the chiefs, some of whom were divided by fierce quarrels, especially Raymond of Toulouse and Tancred, on the Mount of Olives, and compelled them to a reconciliation. The assault then commenced, and the besieged succeeded in repelling every effort for the space of two days. The zeal of the besiegers was at this time reanimated by the sight of an armed warrior on the Mount of Olives, which Raymond and Godfrey declared to be St. George. The duke was the first to penetrate into the town on a plank let down from an engine; the Count of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and Tancred were by his side, the Count of Toulouse and southrons entering from the other side. The inhabitants fled for refuge to the portico of the temple, whither Tancred rushed after them, even this hero of romance setting the example of indiscriminate slaughter and rapine. Ten thousand are said to have perished there: no mercy was shown. It was only when the massacre was over, that the princes laid aside their arms, bared their feet, and approached the church of the Passion and the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem was captured on the 15th of July, 1099.

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LOUIS THE FAT AND LOUIS THE YOUNG.

1108—1180.

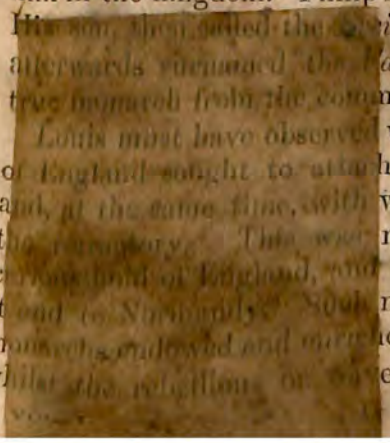
CHAP. IV. 1108.

THE nullity, the want of enterprise, and absence of chivalric sentiments or habits, which marked the first descendants of Hugh Capet, were at once favourable and dangerous to the incipient royalty of France. Such a character rendered them acceptable suzerains to princes who were willing to recognise the name, on the condition of not bowing to the reality. But at the same time, the weakness and inactivity of Henry and of Philip allowed the Dukes of Normandy to become the first potentates of Western France.

The merit of young Prince Louis, son of Philip, was that he perceived this. He was bred and educated in the Convent of St. Denis, and consequently took to heart, at an early age, the honour and interest of that great monastery. The supremacy and property of the abbey extended over the valley of Montmorency, and over the Vexin, which was a continuation of it westward down the course of the Seine. William Rufus claimed the Vexin, and invaded it. And the first act of the young prince seems to have been to hoist the standard of the abbot of St. Denis, as lord of the Vexin, in order to oppose him. This banner, always borne and rendered victorious by Louis, was the future *oriflamme* (*auriflamma*) of France. With from three to

four hundred men and this flag, Louis did not shrink from facing Rufus with his ten thousand soldiers. His courage might not have availed if, at the death of that king, the crowns of England and of Normandy had not fallen into different hands, and the latter into weak ones.

There seems to have been early relations between Louis and Henry of England, who had once fled to the Vexin from his brother Rufus. On Henry's accession Louis went to England, and passed some time there. The enmity of his stepmother, Queen Bertrade, may have been one cause of this foreign visit. According to Orderic Vitalis, she sent letters in King Philip's name and with his seal, entreating Henry to arrest Prince Louis, and retain him captive. Henry refused to commit such an act of treachery, and Louis returned to Paris to charge Bertrade with her crime. The chronicle adds that the queen subsequently made an attempt to poison the prince, who, although he recovered from its effects, nevertheless ever after bore marks, in a certain paleness, of the attempt of Bertrade. In order to pacify his son, Philip gave him the government of the Vexin. Somewhat later King Philip, says Orderic, "was afflicted with tooth-ache and the itch, in consequence of his slighting the admonitions of the Church respecting his marriage." He therefore associated his son Louis with him in the kingdom. Philip survived till the year 1108.



illé, or *Wide-awake*, though *at*, may be considered the nencement of the century.

with what pains the Kings h to them their noblesse; what severity they treated necessitated by their pre- by the disputed claims to nobles as were faithful the ed, trusted and consulted, ering were summoned to

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the royal court, and if not banished or deprived of their fiefs, were loaded with heavy fines, and ruined.

The first aim of Louis, on finding himself the wielder of royal power, was to follow the example of the English kings. But this required management. A crusade in behalf of the king's prerogative would have been met by a formidable opposition. Louis therefore undertook to defend the rights and vindicate the claims of the Church, coming forward as the champion of the ecclesiastics against the noblesse. The first cause that offered was the claim of the Abbey of St. Denis over the valley of Montmorency, which the baron of that castle and territory set at nought. But the King of Paris, in order to subdue the Baron of Montmorency, was obliged to call in the aid of his uncle, the Count of Flanders. He began by summoning Burchard of Montmorency to the royal court at Poissy; and on the non-appearance of the baron, Louis marched to lay waste his domains. There ensued a petty war, in which the Lords of Clermont and Senlis fought with the king against the Lords of Beaumont and of Mouchy. Although Louis was defeated on one occasion, he wearied out his opponents by his activity and perseverance, and compelled the Montmorency to submit.

In the same manner he undertook the defence of the Church of Orleans against the Count of Meun, and of the Church of Rheims against the Count of Rouci. On these occasions Louis made the clergy and their retainers: by such means he swelled the ranks of the royal army, and gave it superiority over the local noblesse. Having thus vindicated the rights of the clergy, and turned them to the advantage of his own power and profit, Louis went a step farther, and undertook to defend, as king, the rights and interests of the nobles. During the easy reign of Philip and his predecessors, the barons had not only occupied the property of the clergy, but erected fortresses in such strong positions as interrupted

the high roads and enabled them to levy contributions on travellers or merchants. The Dukes of Normandy had much trouble in punishing malefactors and putting down high-born robbers of this kind, although they had ample means in wealth and following to do so. But the King of France could scarcely either command or pay for the service of a feudal army. Louis, therefore, says Orderic Vitalis, "was compelled to demand the aid of the bishops throughout Gaul, in order to put down the tyranny of robbers and seditious folk. Popular *communeship* was therefore established in France by the prelates, that the curates might accompany the king to siege or battle, with standards and all their parishioners."

At this time, an old chronicler observes, "Louis was so cooped up that he could not go to Melun, nor proceed from Paris to the neighbourhood of Corbeil, its Count Odo being his foe. Nor yet could he go to Etampes on account of Montlheri, Château Fort and La Ferté Baudouin. Nor yet could he pass from Etampes to Orleans on account of the castle of Le Puiset."* To clear away these hostile obstructions in the southern portion of his duchy or kingdom became Louis's care after he had cleared the northern. He secured a friend in Guy de Rochefort, one of these barons, and with his aid reduced the fortress of Montlheri. "Its fall," says the chronicle, "was as if a straw had been taken out of the king's eye." Yet entrusting it as well as Mantes to his brother Philip, he was obliged to have recourse to war in order to oust him from hence, Philip displaying an inclination to make the wonted use of this stronghold. Louis destroyed all the fortification of Montlheri, except the chief tower, which still surmounts the hill, and attracts the regard of the traveller to Orleans. Of all the fortresses between

* [illegible] rano; Dom Bouquet.

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Seine and Loire, that of Le Puiset cost Louis most trouble to reduce. Hugh, its possessor, not only defied the King of France, but ravaged the territories of Chartres and Blois then in the hands of the Countess Alix, who was guardian of her son, Theobald. She, as well as all the clergy of the province, demanded aid of Louis, who soon laid siege to Le Puiset. The castle was valiantly defended against the united forces of the king and of the countess; so much so, that after a long and hard-fought assault, the besiegers were giving way, when a certain bold curate, at the head of his parochial levy, managed to get under the barricade, of which he plucked away the stakes, and then called to his partisans to come on. They obeyed the call, and rushed through the opening he had made into the town. Hugh took refuge in a tower, but was taken. The conquest, instead of a pacification, produced fresh troubles. For the young Count of Chartres wishing to have Le Puiset in order to erect a fortress there, Louis refused him. War broke out in consequence between Theobald and the King. The prince received Norman aid, and Louis finding it expedient to set Hugh of Puiset free, the young noble was soon found in arms against him. There ensued some fierce engagements (1112–1115) in which Louis, though he had not always the advantage, still displayed such courage and perseverance, that this alone redeemed defeat and supplied the place of victory. The Count of Chartres, wounded in a rencontre, made peace; and Louis, having totally destroyed Le Puiset, had leisure to turn his arms in other directions.

At the time of the first crusade, Erpo, Count of Bourges, sold or mortgaged his territories to King Philip. This permitted Louis to carry his arms beyond the Loire. The lord of St. Sever, between Limoges and Bourges, having defied him, Louis marched into the country, "rich as it was in [illegible] soldiers," and enforced its submission. This sover[illegible]ty in the province of

Berri led him at a future day to claim supremacy in the Bourbonnais, where a father and uncle disputed the succession. Although Suger boasts that Louis established his suzerainty there, it does not appear that the lords of Bourbon at this early period recognised it.

The reign, as the policy, of Louis the Fat naturally divides into two periods. In the first of these the young prince directed his efforts towards the conquest of his paternal duchy, and the humbling of its barons. During this time, there was little or no rivalry between him and the monarch of England, who had not yet put forth a claim to the sovereignty of Normandy. In the early and local wars of the French king the aid of the clergy proved efficacious to give him superiority, Louis having prudently begun by being their champion. And the Church, in turn, permitted its retainers and parishioners to be his soldiers, whilst even the curates ably performed the duties of warlike officers. But as Louis subdued his turbulent vassals, and humbled even the large and more independent feudatories on his border, he found himself confronted with a more puissant rival, Henry, by that time not only King of England, but Duke of Normandy, his struggle with whom fills the latter portion of his reign. Robert Short Hose, when pressed by his brother Henry, had vainly besought French as well as Flemish aid. The result of his obtaining neither was his being crushed at Tinchebray. "Forty years after the conquest of England by the Normans under William the Conqueror, the English under Henry conquered Normandy." Such is the reflection of William of Malmesbury.

About the time of this English reconquest of Normandy, occurred another event, of a nature to arouse Louis. The Emperor Henry the Fourth, who but a little before had come in suppliant to France, apparently unnoticed, the imperial crown fell upon the head

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of his son, the active and formidable Henry the Fifth. To this young emperor, lord of Italy, Germany, and a great portion of France, Henry of England gave his daughter Matilda in marriage. This was menacing to the King of France, whose uncle, Robert of Flanders, was, moreover, especially embarrassed by the circumstance. The King of England had been in the habit of paying Robert of Flanders 300 marks annually, and of supporting the count against the emperor. Henry of England refused to continue the subsidy, and animosity arose. About the same time William Clyton, son of Robert Short Hose, escaped from Normandy, and put himself under French protection. Henry, in defence, began to rebuild the fortifications of Gisors, a frontier town, which by treaty was to remain open. Louis, supported by the Count of Flanders, immediately flew to arms. Henry, says William of Malmesbury, "mindful of paternal example, preferred baffling French fatuity by patience, to repelling it by arms," and an accommodation ensued, by which Gisors was given to Prince William, Henry's eldest son, on his doing homage for it to Louis.

The war between the monarchs broke out later, when Theobald, Count of Chartres, rushed into hostilities with Louis, on account of Le Puiset being refused him. Theobald joined Henry, whilst Robert of Flanders, combating for Louis, was slain in an engagement at Meau. Peace once more ensued, but was manifestly insecure, the causes of quarrel and of rivalry between the two monarchs being so many and so difficult of adjustment. The capture of the Count de Nevers, as he was traversing Normandy, in 1116, again occasioned war between Henry and Louis; and the latter set about a more vigorous resistance. He embraced the cause of William Clyton and his claims, and, with the aid of the Counts of Anjou and Flanders, invaded Normandy. Henry the First was by no means popular with the chivalry of the

time, whilst the fate of his brother was universally deplored, and sympathy awakened for his son. Louis found the principal of the Norman, and many of the English, barons ready to forsake Henry. The allies of the French king took possession of Evreux and of Alençon, their triumph being somewhat abated by the death of the young Count of Flanders. Louis himself surprised Andelys, whilst Henry, who had burnt Evreux, was approaching it. It was near this fortress, at the village of Brenneville, that a rencontre took place on the 21st of August, 1119, between the two kings. There were not more than four hundred on each side. De Crespigny, a Norman noble, who had gone over to Louis, first charged with eighty knights, who were soon surrounded by Henry's soldiers, and their horses slain. As the great object in such fights was then to take and ransom captives, it was the horses only, not the knights, who were killed; the knights were not, it appears, even disarmed. The rest of the French, and especially Bouchard of Montmorency, tried in vain to rescue their friends. On one occasion, when Henry advanced into the midst of the fight, De Crespigny rushed at him and struck the king on the helmet with his sword. He was in turn struck down by an English knight, who had to defend him when down against the attempts of several English to slay the assailant of their king. Meanwhile Louis [illegible] troops, lost his way in the w[illegible] reached Andelys. But three [illegible] engagement. Henry sent back t[illegible] he had taken; and William, [illegible] am Clyton his palfrey. Peter [illegible] ng away their crests and accou[illegible] the crowd. Robert de Cour[illegible] nch rashly to Andelys, was t[illegible] captured.

Lo[illegible] chagrined at his defeat. He [illegible] Montfort, who advised

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him to summon not only all the counts to his succour, but to apply to the bishops, that the priests might muster their parishioners and rally in the king's defence. Louis made the appeal, and it was answered by the counts and the population, who came, says Orderic, like wolves, to plunder all they could lay their hands on, even in their own country. The armed citizens of Laon and Noyon, who had lately formed municipalties under their bishop, were amongst the worst.

This complaint of Orderic shows that De Montfort's advice, or Louis's policy, was something more than summoning the rural clergy and their parishioners to arm for their country's defence. The appeal was made to the townsfolk also, then becoming powerful; in exchange for these succours Louis the Fat was prepared to impart, and to persuade the bishops to impart, a certain share of municipal freedom. This liberal policy, suggested by the rise and by the wants of the civic and industrious class, was rendered more compulsory by the example of Henry of England. That prince granted or regranted their celebrated charter to the citizens of London, about the time that Louis, then prince, was a guest at Westminster. Henry, on the subjugation of Normandy, held a parliament there; in which he provided for the peace and good government of the duchy, curbing the arbitrary power of the noblesse, and showing himself the protector of the people. One of his chief modes of accomplishing this was to grant charters to the towns, and to rely on the fidelity and gratitude of the civic classes, rather than on the futile allegiance of a turbulent noblesse.*

* When king Charles the Fifth reconquered Normandy in the fourteenth century, and was anxious to conciliate the towns, he promised to gratify their desires. These were, to have the privileges and liberties granted them by King Henry the First of England, confirmed. See the Confirmation of the Privileges of Verneuil-sur-Pontorson, in 1366. The citizens were [illegible]d judicially free of their prelates, and each burgeois payed so many deniers as [illegible]

The causes which weighed upon and influenced such princes as Henry the First of England, could not but make themselves felt upon lesser potentates. Hence, whilst the attempts of citizens to establish certain liberties were fiercely contested by lords and prelates down to the close of the eleventh century, a few years after occur several instances of a compromise and agreement between townsfolk on the one hand, the lords and prelates on the other. In the last year of the century, a bishop of Beauvais came to an accord with the citizens, and swore, in accord with them, a *commune*, which was opposed by the Count, and, singular to say, also by the canons. At Noyon, a considerable town, not far distant from Beauvais, the bishop adopted the same policy, and in a more open manner, assembling the citizens himself, and proposing to them the conditions of a free municipality, to which he and they swore. One of the clauses of the charter was, the citizens were to be amenable to justice not in the prelates' court, but to their own magistrates.

What indeed the citizens now chiefly aimed at, was to have their causes tried by their own magistrates. Judicial fines having become one of the great sources of revenue, count, prelate, and king were, of course, anxious to retain jurisdiction. But this power was so frequently abused and turned to purposes of extortion, that the citizens insisted on its abrogation, and maintained that, except in great criminal and capital cases, civic courts and magistrates, not the Count or his judges, should decide. To free themselves from all feudal exactions, except that of a fixed *cens*, or tribute, was also, no doubt, a main object of civic efforts. Although the fact of having procured a residence in a town freed the person from some of the evils of villennage and serfage, some still remained; and the lords of towns, as well as of wider domains, pretended to limit the right of his lieges to marry, or make use of their natural liberty,

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without seignorial permission. To emancipate themselves and their families from such oppression was the aim of the townsfolk of the north of France. Their neighbours, the Flemings, had long since acquired these liberties, and even greater ones; but the poorer towns of Picardy and Vernandois were not so arrogant.

Louis the Fat having displayed from his earliest years a desire to humble the extravagance and arbitrary power of the nobles, it was but natural that leagued citizens should have recourse to him. Those of Beauvais seem to have been the first that did so; and, as they were countenanced and supported in their efforts by their bishop, Louis granted them a charter, which is, however, only known by its subsequent sanction in the reign of Louis the Seventh. But the charter or municipalty instituted by the Bishop of Noyon in 1108, and formally sanctioned by Louis the Fat, is extant. The Countess of Vermandois, at the same time, granted to the inhabitants of St. Quentin a charter, formally declaring them free of serfage in their persons and their goods.

Louis the Fat was induced to sanction such grants of municipal freedom by the bishops recommending them, and, moreover, from the demand being accompanied by a sum of money. In some instances the king showed himself the contrary of liberal and just. The episcopal seat of Laon came to be filled by a prelate who had been a rude soldier and follower of Henry of England. He conducted himself as a cruel and rapacious tyrant. The citizens took advantage of his momentary absence to rise, and instituted a *commune*, in imitation of the towns of Picardy and Flanders. They even succeeded in procuring the bishop Gaudry's consent to this act by large payments. In time, however, the bishop repented of his acquiescence, as did the noblesse of Laon; and they took the opportunity of a visit which Louis the Fat paid the town in 1112, to propose that

he should sanction, and they execute, the abrogation of the liberties of Laon. The townsfolk, alarmed by rumours of the plot, offered large sums to avert it. The bishop and noblesse bid higher, in order to have the king's assent, which Louis, with greed and with meanness unusual to him, finally granted. Fortunately for himself, he at the same time withdrew; when the people of Laon, indignantly rising, attacked the nobles and the soldiers of their bishop, massacring them without mercy. The prelate fled, and hid himself in a cask, from which he was dragged, and, despite of his supplications, was murdered, and his body cast with ignominy into a corner of the street.

The success of the Laonnois led to no durable result. They were themselves alarmed at it. They either had not the spirit, or did not see the possibility, of adopting the only mode in which popular resistance could be followed up and turned to profit. This was by towns leaguing together. Laon could find no other town bold enough then to associate with it, and the only succour they found was in the son of the Baron de Coucy. It ended by the king and the Archbishop of Rheims taking possession of the walls and churches of the town; as to the population, it had fled, those who returned being treated as serfs. Sixteen years later, Louis the Fat, stung by remorse for his conduct, or at least persuaded of its impolicy, restored its municipal rights to Laon.

Whilst the French monarch thus, on the whole, favoured the freedom and organisation of the civic classes on the northern frontier of his kingdom, and, as we have seen from Orderic, made use of their militia against his enemy, he was far from introducing or sanctioning any real liberties in the towns of the Duchy of France, immediately subject to his sway. These he might not indeed oppress, but at least he retained the attributes of justice, and levied the taxes necessary for the government, without allowing those free institutions

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which were as embarrassing to royalty as inimical to aristocracy.*

Soon after the defeat of Louis at Brenneville, in 1119, his attention, as well as that of his kingdom, was called to the affairs of the Papacy. Pope Gelasius, driven from Rome by the Emperor, fled to the Abbey of Cluny, where he died. The cardinals who accompanied him elected a French prelate to be his successor. The new Pope Calixtus summoned a council to meet at Rheims. His object was to interest his countrymen in the great dispute between Pope and Emperor. It was a fortunate circumstance, this reference to a third and as it were a neutral power, of the quarrel between Italy and Germany. When it was fully stated to the French prelates, they declared that the two great countries and potentates, Emperor and Pope, were struggling and moving heaven and earth for a name rather than a thing. In France they knew nothing of investiture by cross and ring. The prelates were, to all appearance, freely chosen by the Church, but yet they never failed in obedience to the sovereign or the state,—paying tribute, rendering war service by their retainers, and performing every civic duty. The Emperor, on hearing this, declared he desired no better terms. And Church and Emperor accordingly, some time after, put an end to their long strife in the Treaty of Wurtzburg. So effective is a third and stranger party, as arbiter, to

* M. Thierry distinguishes the communal movement of France, as it took place, into different zones. In the north, the charters were treaties of peace between the town and its lord after a popular insurrection. In the south, the citizens exhumed Roman traditions, and elected consuls, but consigned their privileges in no written charter. The towns of the east and south-east made themselves remarkable by a regular system of two representative assemblies, a great and a little council, periodically convoked. In the west, the charters were granted by the monarchs or feudal chiefs. The Norman dukes gave large liberties to their towns. In the centre, the towns were indulged with many privileges and rights, but enjoyed no autonomy, and had no popular magistrates, justice remaining in the hands of the king or his substitutes.

terminate, by the decision of common sense, a quarrel which rivalry and chicane had embittered and prolonged for centuries.

The French king did not interfere in this accommodation. He merely made use of the council of Rheims to utter strenuous accusations against his foe, Henry of England. Pope Calixtus ordered both to keep the truce of God, and afterwards had an interview with Henry at Gisors. The English king was not averse to peace. He had won over Foulques of Anjou, and sealed the alliance by a marriage between his son, William, and Foulques' daughter, Matilda. The King of France therefore consented to abandon the claim of the son of Robert Short Hose to Normandy; and peace was concluded on these terms.

Immediately afterwards took place the terrible shipwreck of Barfleur, in which Henry lost his son and so many of his friends. This catastrophe, though it suspended Henry's activity, caused great alarm in France, the heiress to the throne of England and duchy of Normandy being the Empress Matilda. The Normans once more began to conspire and to rise in behalf of the son of Robert. Not only Louis, but Foulques of Anjou, and the entire of the French great noblesse, sympathised with the general fear and hostility entertained towards Henry and the empress. And the sovereigns of Germany and England, aware of this hostility, prepared to meet and to crush it with overwhelming forces. The emperor raised a large army of Lorrainers as well as Transrhenans, and proclaimed his intention of capturing Rheims, and punishing it as the scene of his last excommunication. Although Henry the Fifth never advanced with this formidable army farther than Worms, where death put an end to his threatened invasion of France, it was still attended with great results to Louis the Fat. For the whole of the country, princes and people, rose for the first time, as one man, against the menaces of

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the German and the Englishman. The rendezvous was at Rheims, and the number of warriors was immense. It was the first occasion in which the King of France found himself at the head of a national army. The great feudatories rallied around him as the true military supporters of the crown; whilst the contingents of this army, though collected from different provinces, came with feelings of pride in their common country, which had not before actuated them, but which have proved the growing cause of its subsequent greatness.

Although Louis had no opportunity of trying the strength of this French army against the German or the English foe, he contrived to employ it in enforcing French suzerainty beyond the Loire. In that region the power of Louis was checked by the ascendancy of William, Count of Poictiers. This magnate had defended his father, Philip, on a memorable occasion. A council of ecclesiastics was assembled to anathematise the King of France on account of his marriage. The Count of Poictiers, who had returned from the Holy Land with Oriental and not Papal ideas of the union of the sexes, scouted the ecclesiastical censure, and raised a tumult against the clergy, which saved Philip. He had afterwards resumed the cross, and Louis never pushed his arms into Aquitaine. He however interfered in Auvergne, which was considered a dependency of that duchy. Quarrels between the Count and Bishop of Clermont gave him the pretext. (1121.) But Louis could not have thus interfered with a fief of Aquitaine, if he had not at the same time had with him a large army, and all the great princes of the north of France in his camp and council. Neither Poictiers nor Clermont could resist the behests of a monarch who appeared at the head of so powerful a confederacy, and both submitted.

The most important achievement of Louis's reign was this grouping of the great feudatories about him.

This king in history is chiefly renowned for having emancipated the towns, and favoured the formation of municipalties. And no doubt he at first aided the growth of his power by his enlistment of the Church serfs and tenants in his ranks; and then by making a similar but more partial and guarded use of the town population. But it was far less by these measures, than by the ascendancy which he acquired over the great aristocracy, that Louis consolidated his power, and increased the prestige of the monarchy. The arguments which he made use of, and which his minister, Suger, uses for him in his chronicle, was the necessity of upholding French interests, nationality, and pride, against the German emperor on one side, and the English monarch on the other. It is difficult to descry this national French spirit in any monarch before Louis the Sixth, or in any writer before Suger. Both of them were most influential as founders of French nationality.

Louis was not so fortunate in his treatment of Flanders as in his subjugation of Aquitaine. The Flemings, indeed, proved always intractable to French treatment, whether of amity or hostility. The count of that province, perplexed and curbed by the frowardness of the townsfolk and the middle class, sought to taunt the family of Van der Straten by asserting they were serfs. One of them replied by cleaving the young count's skull as he knelt at prayers. There being no heir to the family of Flanders, Louis sought to give the country to the son of Robert Short Hose. This unfortunate prince soon after fell in an engagement: and Flanders passed to Theodoric of Alsace, a descendant of Robert the Frison.

Louis, after a divorce with the daughter of Guy de Rochefort, had married the daughter of Amé, Count of Savoy, by whom he had eight children. The corpulence, joined to the weakness of the king, rendering his life precarious, he associated with him his eldest son,

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Philip, in 1129, and caused him to be crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims. Two years later, a hog ran between the legs of his horse in the streets of Paris: the horse fell with the prince under him, and crushed him to death.

Pope Innocent the Second was then in France strenuously supported against an anti-pope by Louis, and therefore closely bound to him. This induced Louis to have the second son crowned by the pontiff at Rheims. This act of having a French coronation performed by a foreign pontiff, instead of the national prelate of Rheims, having called forth dissentient voices from the clergy, some of his followers slew the refractory churchmen.

In 1136, William, last Duke of Aquitaine, weary of power and stricken with remorse, undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostello. In departing, William made a will, declaring Louis, King of France, guardian to his daughter and sole heiress, Eleanor. The duke expired in the course of his pilgrimage, and Louis immediately ordered the marriage of his son and successor, Louis, with the heiress of Aquitaine. The ceremony was performed at Bordeaux with great solemnity in the summer of 1137. Shortly after, Louis the Fat expired.

The French Capetian monarchy during two centuries was blessed with great internal calm, and with a remarkable absence of those stirring movements and causes of strife which convulsed other countries. Germany and Italy were throughout those centuries in a continual turmoil of civil and religious war, church contending against State, and Pope against Cæsar. England and Normandy, during the same epoch, were torn by rival claimants. France scarcely felt these disturbances. It lay like a still lake in a mountain hollow — storms all around, itself slumbering in placidity.

The French monarchs did not experience the same

necessities as their brethren of Germany or of England. In Germany, all the attributes of sovereignty had been appropriated by the dukes, princes, and prelates, leaving nothing for the sovereign to aim at but a kind of lofty supremacy, more to be exercised abroad than at home. As a German monarch, the emperor was nothing; as a Cæsar, he was all. But this was a kind of European supremacy, opposed to the thoroughly local spirit of the age, and counteracted by another great pretender to European supremacy, the Pope, whose purposed empire was equally an impracticability and an anachronism. The two monster claims took centuries to destroy each other, which, in truth, they effectually did; but, unfortunately, they at the same time split up, destroyed, and neutralised, as nations, the two countries engaged in the strife. Germany and Italy remain each a chaos and an anomaly to this day.

The kings of England had other difficulties. They were lords of a conquering race, superposed upon another, which was indeed akin to them, and thus offered means of amalgamation, but which still increased a hundredfold the perils of government. The situation, however, called forth the energies and talents of the Norman princes and their followers, and rendered it imperative that they should make use of all the resources and all the strength of their country. In England, accordingly, no class was neglected. The king summoned around him his noblesse, to seek their council and demand their aid, both in military service and in money. Those who refused to attend or to comply were considered foes and traitors, and were visited with the strong hand; fined, if not powerful enough to resist; crushed, if they did so. The citizen class was also mulcted, but conciliated. Great liberties were allowed to burghers. Church and churchmen were, indeed, shorn of the privileges and immunities which they enjoyed in other countries; but still the

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church was prominent, and fought its battle. All these stormy elements and powers, struggling with each other, gave rise to a system of law, of judicial and parliamentary liberty, of rights long conflicting and at length adjusted, which ended by making the English a constitutional and free people.

In France there was nothing of this struggle, this energy, or this life. The reason lay in there being no necessity or no cause to evoke them. The population was, notwithstanding what certain writers may pretend, of one race, or of races long and completely amalgamated. There were few or no disputants to the throne, which itself at first was scarcely worth disputing. The duchy or kingdom of France was not a conquering or a conquered country. It was central, out of the great lines of trade and adventure; the great churchmen and the great feudatories were paramount in their dioceses or provinces; and the early Capets lived on the best of terms with their prelates, intermarried with the great princely families near them, and were, in truth, more ruled and supported by these nominally-subject princes than accustomed to exercise predominance over them.

One great difference between France and England was the existence in the former country of a princely aristocracy, placed far too high above the provincial baronage to form with it one order or assembly. A Count of Champagne or a Duke of Normandy could not be brought to attend a king's court twice in the year; whilst a decree or decision of lesser barons could scarcely be binding, except upon each other. Even such minor meetings seemed to have fallen into disuse; kings, like Robert, relying upon ecclesiastical synods. And though a king's court existed, there was nothing like a parliament in France, for either judicial or legislative purposes, throughout the eleventh century.

With Louis the Fat, and with Suger his friend and minister, not only did a France arise, but institutions

sprung up in France, partly resuscitated, partly adopted from imitation of the Norman kings, partly suggested by the peculiar state of the country. Amongst these institutions was the royal court or assembly of the barons of the duchy of France, considered as a tribunal before which refractory nobles might be summoned. It was the court of the lesser peers, which, as the power and dominion of the monarchy increased, was swelled into a court of great peers or princes, and to which such magnates became amenable. The remarkable institution of raising the peasantry under their curates, and leading them to war, a habit scarcely reconcilable with either feudal or civic organisation, was another remarkable creation. Louis the Fat's sanction of municipalties was equally anomalous. It was not, like Henry the First's charter to London, a recognition of middle class and civic rights in his own capital and chief towns. This Louis carefully avoided. It was the acknowledgment of franchises in towns which belonged to his neighbours and his rivals, and intended more to injure and diminish the power of these than to arouse the civic classes to the support of the crown.

There was, in fact, great hesitation and uncertainty in the policy of Suger and Louis the Fat, except so far as they seemed determined to vindicate and raise up the royal authority by all modes. That monarch saw in the general enthusiasm to support him against the pretensions of the Emperor of Germany how this was best to be done. But it was the fortune of the French monarch and monarchy to be ruled, developed, and rendered powerful by events and by the progress of things, rather than by any efforts of their own. What eventually raised, we may say created, the monarchy of France, was the rivalry of the English kings, which taxed and incited fresh energies to resist them. At the death of Henry the First, however, an epoch of civil war commenced in England, and left that country in a kind of

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syncope, during which it could not be formidable to the French king, and during which, in consequence, the great feudatories did not see the necessity of rallying to the sovereign or sacrificing their independence to his grandeur. The absence of English rivalry checked, rather than advanced, the rise of France as a kingdom.

The first act of Louis the Young seemed in contradiction with the policy of his sire. The citizens of Orleans, deeming the opportunity favourable, assembled and swore a *commune*. Such an act on the part of townspeople was always to abate a practical grievance, such as the exaction of a count or the severity of a bishop. But in Orleans there was a royal prefect, and to rise against him was to rebel against the king. Louis therefore entered Orleans in ire. The absence of resistance showed the *commune* to have been the act of a minority of the citizens. Those guilty of it were mercilessly put to death. But Louis afterwards published an edict, forbidding his provost or *prevot* to levy arbitrary contributions or taxes, or debase the coin.

It was a different case, when about the same time the citizens of Rheims rose against their archbishop, and demanded the same municipal rights as those enjoyed by Laon and other episcopal towns. The clergy appealed to the young king. But he, under Suger's advice, approved the act of the citizens of Rheims and sanctioned their *commune*. His treatment of Sens, at a later date, led to a catastrophe. When about to depart for the Holy Land, the monarch sold to the citizens communal rights in return for a sum of money. The bishop declared that he could not furnish his contributions to the crusade, unless he had the powers of taxation usurped by the *commune*. The bishop, by the royal permission, began to exercise them. Whereupon the citizens rose and slew the prelate. The monarch, engaged in a holy war, could not but punish such an

outrage. He caused the chiefs of the tumult to be seized and precipitated from the cathedral steeple.

Louis's first aim and ambition were to extend and establish his empire in the south. He caused himself to be crowned at Bourges, as if to make known his dignity to the southern populations. He summoned the great feudatories who had supported his father's pretensions in Auvergne, and the Bourbonnais, to follow him in an expedition against the Count of Toulouse. Louis the Young did not, however, enjoy that command or that influence over the high aristocracy which his father had acquired. Thibaud, Count of Champagne, especially refused to second his designs in the south: and Louis, thus deserted, laid siege to Toulouse in vain. The same eagerness to dominate in the south caused a breach between the king and Pope Innocent. The Roman pontiff had established in the south of France that right of investiture, which the Germans expressly denied him, and which the French set practically at nought. Louis was indignant to find the Pope nominating, without even consulting him, an Archbishop of Bourges. He boldly appointed another; and a war of investiture forthwith arose. Louis, like his grandsire Philip, was excommunicated, and the clergy suspended all devotional functions in whatever town he held his court. The King of France learned to brave, or play with, these papal thunders, which were powerless against a prince who possessed the rights, and a people that was animated by the feelings, of true nationality.

An accident which occurred in 1142 very much afflicted Louis. He was at war with the Count of Champagne, and laid siege to Vitry, into which his troops penetrated by assault. The inhabitants, to the number of 700, took refuge in the church. The portal being set on fire, the flames at once communicated to the edifice, and prevented all exit from it. Those

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within were burned and crushed beneath the ruins. Louis was witness of the catastrophe, heard the cries of the dying, and saw their scorched remains. He was so struck with remorse that he made peace with the Count of Champagne, besought the pardon of the Pope, and retained those stings of conscience which prompted him, a few years after, to assume the cross. Louis was ready to yield to the Pope in the matter of the Archbishop of Bourges. He only demanded that the sentence of excommunication passed against the Count of Vermandois, his friend and councillor, should be recalled. St. Bernard, in a letter which is extant, advised the Pope to take off the excommunication for a moment, until the king had executed his part of the contract, and then lay it on again. This unworthy manœuvre of Pope and saint naturally disgusts the moralist, and is reprobated by all writers. Louis was so indignant at it, that he defied the Pope, stopped the nomination to all the vacant prelacies, and sequestered their revenues — a proof of the power of even young Louis in ecclesiastical affairs. The death of Pope Innocent put an end to this strife and scandal.

There was another consequence of France being the still lake amidst the storms of surrounding regions, which deserves to be noticed. It became the asylum of education; it harboured, if it did not produce, learned men, whom the strife of Italy and the rudeness of England would not tolerate. Monastic schools, of even greater celebrity than those of France, flourished on each side of it. At Bec in Normandy, at Cluny in Burgundy, were reared the churchmen who filled the rich benefices and abbacies of those countries. There reigned the stern orthodox doctrines of obedience to tradition and authority. All that Paris could boast was greater freedom of teaching. Professors there studied Aristotle, in translations it might be; and they established a new basis for reasoning as for teaching.

The logic of the Greek philosopher taught that there were such things as universals; reasoning from which to particulars produced such absurdity, that Roscelin, a Breton teacher, denied altogether the existence of such abstractions. They were mere names, he said, — an assertion that founded the school of the *nominalists*. The churchmen, on their side, perceived that not only were virtues abstractions, but even the Godhead itself, as also the three persons of the Trinity; and to doubt the existence of universals was to question its reality. Such was the wisdom, such the fears, of the divines of those days. The controversy still raged, when another Breton arrived in Paris, and soon gained a reputation in dispute. His name was Abelard. That the prevailing quarrel was merely one of words, and that religion or its interests were not affected by it, was at once perceived by Abelard, who took that common-sense view of the different kinds of existences which most men, save metaphysicians, have been contented to take. Lucky would it have been for Abelard had he stopped here, and contented himself with exposing logical absurdities. But he was vain, anxious for distinction in every branch of learning, and he at length undertook to explore and expound theology itself. Into its edifice, too, he brought the torch of common sense, and insisted that faith should be based upon reason. But when he came to apply this rule in explaining the Trinity, or in expatiating upon Grace, and upon Original Sin, he aroused the ire of the churchmen. Abelard was first condemned to perpetual seclusion by the Synod of Soissons, which wisely adopted the rule of silencing, not refuting. He was released from this penalty by Suger, abbot of St. Denis. But Abelard's reputation, his adventures, his obstinacy in attracting followers and opening schools were species of rivalry, and even of hostility, that the Church could not brook. St. Bernard, the great chief and saint of the day, raised his voice against Abelard, and denounced

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him to the Pope. Abelard replied boldly by summoning his accuser to a public disputation before a council at Sens. This intellectual tournament was of sufficient importance for King Louis to come and preside over it in person in 1140. St. Bernard appeared; but Abelard, aware, on second thoughts, that the doctrines of a religious creed, founded upon and consonant with reason, would assuredly be condemned by an assembly of prelates, declined the dispute, and allowed ecclesiastical sentence to go against him. The Pope corroborated the verdict, and condemned not only Abelard to perpetual silence, but also Arnold of Brescia, who had drawn much more formidable conclusions against Church authority than Abelard ventured.

Louis had no objects of much greater importance to occupy him. He had hitherto favoured the cause of Stephen in England on account of his connexion with the king's son Eustace, who had married his sister. But the French monarch had since become more impartial; and he at last consented to an accommodation, which should leave England to Stephen, but give Normandy to his rival, Henry Plantagenet. Louis went so far as to support this in arms, and he entered Normandy in 1144, on behalf of the Plantagenets. The proposed arrangement took place, and left the French king free to seek in distant lands that renown for which his native country offered no battle-field.

Circumstances offered what young Louis desired. It was now nearly half a century since the crusaders, under Godfrey and Tancred, had conquered Antioch and Jerusalem. The heroes of that conquest were no more. Other feudal chiefs of European stock had succeeded to their honours, but the soldiers had died away and been but ill replaced by men of Syrian birth. As to the natives, even those who had embraced Christianity were despised. And whilst the monarchs and barons of England and of France were still willing to make use

of peasant levies and mercenary troops of the lower classes, knighthood learned in Palestine to consider that the class of high birth sufficed to conquer and to keep an empire. The consequence was, that the infidel warriors soon outnumbered and overmastered the Christians. In 1142 Foulques of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, died of a fall from his horse, and left his heritage to an infant son. The opportunity seemed favourable to the Sultan of Aleppo, who raised an army and laid siege to Edessa, the first Christian conquest in the Holy Land, then held by a Courtenay. He was reckless and dissipated; and the Sultan of Aleppo managed to surprise Edessa, of which all the Christian garrison and inhabitants were massacred. This catastrophe took place in 1144, and aroused Christendom. Saint Bernard took the lead in preaching the necessity of a new crusade to defend the conquests of the old. His eloquence and authority prevailed in persuading both Conrad, the Emperor of Germany, and Louis of France to assume the cross. The latter took this solemn vow in an immense assembly or parliament of warriors and churchmen, held at Vezelay on Easter day, 1146. It was agreed that all should be ready within the twelvemonth. Louis's queen, Eleanor of Poitou, determined not to be left behind. She assumed the cross, as did the Count of Toulouse, the Count of Flanders, the son of the Count of Champagne, the Count of Soissons, and several prelates. The king committed, by the advice of his grandees, the guard of his kingdom during his absence to Abbot Suger and the Count of Nevers. The latter having declined the task, the Archbishop of Rheims was substituted. Suger however was the real vicegerent, displaying his fitness for the office by the zeal and wisdom with which he sought to dissuade the king from embarking in a distant enterprise, when so much required his constant presence and activity at home.

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The Germans, under their Emperor Conrad, led the way through Hungary to Constantinople, and were followed by the French king. Each host was estimated at 70,000 men. Such jealous welcome did the crusaders receive from the Greek emperor, that a French prelate strongly recommended the conquest of Constantinople, as the first and necessary preliminary to a solid footing in the East. This counsel was rejected for the time. The Germans crossed the Bosphorus. One might have expected that the experience of the first crusade would not have been lost, and that at least the itinerary of a march across Asia Minor would have been known. But the crusaders of 1148 were as ignorant as those of the previous century: and the German emperor, led astray by his guides, surprised and overwhelmed by the enemy, lost almost all his forces, and was obliged to fall back, a suppliant, upon the French. These, appalled by the obstacles which the Germans could not overcome, turned their course southwards and proceeded along the coast to Ephesus. From thence they ascended the course of the Meander, in order to gain the gulph of Satalia and embark for Palestine. In this march the army was well nigh cut off. The vanguard, with some of the bravest knights, under the command of the Count of Savoy, the king's uncle, and the Baron de Rancogne, advanced too far and pitched their tents in a valley. The Turks instantly fell upon them, and destroyed numbers, ere the king could come to the rescue. Even when he did, he met with stubborn resistance, and was obliged to leap upon a rock and defend himself alone upon it with his sword for a considerable time.

This defeat, graphically described by Odon de Deuil, who was present, disgusted the army with feudal leaders; and if the king's uncle had not been one of those who betrayed them into the disaster, they would have demanded their punishment. It was then decided that henceforth the Master of the Templars and another

knight should have the command, and that the great personages should follow the experienced leaders. The army thus reached Satalia, which, like Ephesus and most of the maritime regions, belonged to the Greeks. The king proposed to send off by sea the foot soldiers and poorer people of the army, he himself and his knights proceeding by land. But the knights pretended they had lost their horses, and preferred themselves to proceed by sea, and allow the commonalty to make their way by land. The king consented, and set sail with his knights, leaving the remainder under the care of the Count of Flanders, who also made his escape. The great body of French crusaders, thus abandoned to the mercy of the Greeks and Turks, were maltreated by both, the Greeks making slaves of them, the Turks compelling those who submitted to embrace Mahommedanism. The chivalry of the crusade fared not much better than the commonalty. Louis and his knights reached Antioch. Its prince, Raymond, was uncle to Queen Eleanor, and he besought the King of France to aid in crushing the neighbouring Mussulman chiefs. But the king was bent on proceeding to Jerusalem, being annoyed, amongst his other misfortunes, by the disaffection of his wife, who openly showed contempt for having but a pious husband. Unfortunately, the opinion of Eleanor began to be shared by all in France, on account of the ill success of the crusade. After having laid unsuccessful siege to Damascus, Louis returned to France in the latter months of 1149.

The middle of this century marks a complete change in the political scene, in the interests which occupied it, and even in the personages prominent. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, the school companion of Louis the Fat, and the inheritor of his political views, who had governed France for almost half a century in a spirit of nationality, and with a prescience of its future grandeur, expired soon after the king's return; and the great

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idea of his policy expired with him. The first act of Louis, after he had lost his old minister, was to divorce his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. She was equally ready to take the initiative in the separation. She complained that her husband was a monk, not a king. He complained of her preference for others, even for a gallant Saracen, when they were in the Holy Land, where Eleanor sympathised more with her uncle, the Prince of Antioch, and the old crusaders, than with the ascetic spirit of her husband. A divorce was obtained on the plea of too near relationship. Eleanor, in withdrawing from Beaujency, where the divorce was pronounced, to Poictiers, her capital, as Duchess of Aquitaine, was successively waylaid by two suitors — the young Count of Chartres and a Plantagenet prince. She escaped both, in order to throw herself into the arms of the eldest Plantagenet, the future Henry the Second of England.

Later historians moan over this inconceivable act of Louis, who gave away to his arch rival, Henry, the possession of the whole south-west of France. But Louis, at least since he lost Suger, seemed little possessed by the thought that France was to be a country between Rhine and Pyrenees; he thought of his house, not his country, deemed a son of greater importance than a province, and despaired of Eleanor bearing him one. Louis soon after married Constance, a princess of Castille, and took the opportunity to marry his sister to the Count of Toulouse, as a support, no doubt, against the future enmity of Aquitaine.

St. Bernard died about this time, partly of chagrin at his unfortunate crusade. The saint made amends for his want of success against Mahommedanism by his vigorous persecution of the numerous sects which had sprung up in the south of France, as well as in Italy, and of which the mainspring and the faith was the denial of the authority and the doctrines of Rome. They questioned the Real Presence, scorned Purgatory as

well as the revenues which the priests derived from them, insisting that poverty and simplicity were the sole attributes of the church, which, to be true, should resemble that of the apostles. These sectaries were stigmatised by the Church as Manichean, as dissolute, as condemning marriage, and as practising infamy even more than impiety. Numbers accordingly were burned and massacred; but the living protest against Rome still remained, and was propagated amongst the populations of southern France and northern Italy.

The most important changes were those effected by the death of Stephen, and the accession of Henry the Second to the throne of England and to the possession of the entire west of France. From this time, indeed from Henry's marriage with Eleanor, commenced the first period of serious rivalry between France and England, that of Philip and Louis the Fat with the early Norman kings being of comparatively trifling importance; yet more than half a century's struggle between the Plantagenets and Capetians was carried on in the same spirit as the prelude to it. Louis the Seventh was apparently overwhelmed by the superior power of his rival; whilst Henry the Second, like Henry the First, had no idea of crushing Louis, of destroying or conquering France. He had even less feeling of English nationality than Louis the Young had of French. To keep the possessions of the house of Plantagenet together, and its unruly barons in obedience, sufficed him, without any aim of consolidating those possessions into a permanent empire.

In one respect, indeed, the extent of the dominions of the English king and the large continental portion of them, if not diminishing his importance, at least lowered his position. The mere circumstance of doing homage to another prince, however empty in appearance, was still sown thick with the seeds of future weakness. And it is a great cause of astonishment how

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princes so powerful and so really independent as the Williams and the Henrys could have stooped so long to recognise themselves inferior to, and dependent upon, suzerains with so little real weight, right, or power as the Capetians. So, however, it was. And Henry the Second especially, holding immense and widely-separated portions of France, full of a feudal noblesse possessing the means and anxious for pretexts to rebel, could not afford to give this noblesse the excuse of his failing in a feudal duty to his traditional superior. It would have been better, however, to have braved all these inconveniences and boldly asserted independence; for by degrees the kings of France formed and raised their Court of Peers for the judgment of all feudally subject to them. And although this was but a mockery of justice, peers seldom attending, and the king being judge as well as a party in his court, nevertheless, the name and the form imposed upon the public. And the Plantagenets, suffering themselves to be assimilated to the barons of France, gave to future French sovereigns a show of right in confiscating, grasping, and despoiling the provinces, not of a subject lord, but of a brother sovereign.

A sense of the dignity of the kings of France seemed, however, to paralyse the Plantagenets. When Henry first established himself after his marriage, Louis, leaguing with the Princes of Anjou and of Champagne (for the younger Plantagenet was jealous of the elder), made an attempt on Normandy. Henry easily repelled it; but instead of vigorously pursuing and punishing his foe, he merely sought and of course obtained a truce. Louis, on his side, was equally afraid to strike. It had been arranged that Geoffrey, Henry's brother, should succeed to Anjou when Henry inherited England. Henry would not consent to this arrangement. Geoffrey broke into open war, and Louis promised to support him, but, instead of doing so, he suffered Geoffrey to be crushed.

The Duchy of Nantes, forming a large portion of Brittany, gave itself soon after to Geoffrey. The young prince dying, Henry claimed it as his heir, and, strange to say, proposed to exercise his authority and pronounce judgment in the case as Hereditary Seneschal of France —a title which the Duke of Anjou had borne. Louis, instead of resenting, acquiesced; and not only allowed Henry to appropriate the Duchy of Nantes, but gave, at the same time, in marriage to the English king's son, Henry, yet a child, his daughter Margaret, and promised the Norman Vexin as a dowry.

One acquisition seemed to give Henry but fresh appetite for another. He laid claim to Toulouse, as part of the Duchy of Aquitaine. The Toulousans recurred to Louis, whose sister Constance had married their duke; and when Henry appeared with his army before the walls of Toulouse, he found that Louis had taken a sudden resolve and thrown himself into the town to defend it. Henry desisted, in consequence, from the attack. But in revenge, on his return to Normandy he caused his son Henry, betrothed to Margaret of France, to be married to her, and thus obtained of the Templars the surrender of Gisors, the chief fortress of the Vexin. The King of France responded by fortifying Chaumont, another fortress, and was supported by the Count of Flanders. Henry, however, besieged and took Chaumont, and fifty-four knights in it. Both kings then assembled their forces; but "at the moment," says Matthew Paris, "that a battle in the open field seemed imminent between them, they of a sudden concluded a peace at Trencavel." The kings, in fact, were equally unable to maintain peace or to prosecute a war.

One cause of Henry's forbearance might have been the circumstance of the King of France having no son, whilst the heir of the English throne had married one of his daughters. The second queen of Louis having died about this time in giving birth to a daughter, the

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king married a third wife, selecting Adele, youngest daughter of the Count of Blois. Henry displayed anger in learning this marriage, but it swelled into disappointment, when, in 1165, the new queen gave birth to a son, the future Philip Augustus.

Henry's quarrel with the Clergy and the Church was that which more than counterbalanced all his superiority to the King of France, and rendered the English monarchs henceforth the weaker in the struggle. France was in a remarkable degree priest-ridden. Chivalry, which had menaced to develope itself in a spirit independent of the clergy, had by no means persevered in that direction. Failure in the Holy Land had humbled the pride of the adventurous knights, and in the wars which took place throughout the countries of Europe, fighting had been rather a mockery than a reality. When armies met, they generally separated without a blow, or with blows that slew but one or two. Feudal antagonists were too closely connected and too similarly interested to deal each other mortal hurt. And except at a siege serious fighting seemed abandoned. This was one of the circumstances that paralysed Henry's power and made him distrust feudal armies, to employ mercenary soldiers in preference. Yet to keep a sufficient force of these on the field was an effort too great for his resources. The monks seemed to have completely eclipsed or absorbed the warriors; the two professions mingled, and the Templars became the true heroes of the day and the representatives of the age.

It was at the same time that Henry came to an unlucky quarrel with the Archbishop A'Becket. The king defended but what were afterwards universally allowed to be the rights of royalty and of lay authority. But Becket, in opposing and withstanding this, assumed almost in life the prestige of a martyr. The late defeat and ruin of Frederic Barbarossa, attributed to his hostility towards the Pope, had made impression upon

France, and was considered to corroborate the belief, that it was impious to offer any opposition to the Church. The King of France was a monk and churchman in his belief, his pretensions, and his policy; and the aristocracy of France seemed to have sunk to the same level. When Henry therefore not only quarrelled with the archbishop and exiled him, but afterwards caused his murder, he was looked upon as a monster, who was soon to be visited with Divine wrath, and consequently with destruction and defeat. The Aquitains were the first to take advantage of this odium incurred by Henry to rebel. And that monarch, so wise in his legislation at home, and so conciliating to the English classes and English interests, must certainly have shown some lack of wisdom in the administration of his foreign dominions. English habits of taxation were no doubt more onerous: England's judicial functionaries rude: the English mode of raising scutage in money from the noblesse in lieu of military service, and this expended on mercenary troops accustomed to rapine and indiscipline, must have been another cause. But certain at least is the fact, that his continental and especially his southern dominions, were ill-affected to the British monarch.

Louis, however, by no means took at first that advantage of Henry's embarrassment that an astute and selfish prince would have done. He embraced Becket's cause as that of Heaven. The French monarch, and the Pope, then in France, were but one upon the question. But when Henry came forward with reasonable submission, and offered those equitable terms which Becket could not fairly refuse, but would not frankly accept, Louis and the Pope both turned against him. The quarrel was, like that of Hildebrand and the German emperor, interminable; the pretensions of king and church irreconcilable. It ended therefore, as it alone

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could do, by the death of the prelate and a consequent abandonment of extreme pretensions on either side.

The mild and conciliating character of Louis the Seventh during Henry's quarrel with Becket drew the monarchs and their families together, and, on one occasion, at Montmirail, Henry and his sons did direct homage to the King of France — Henry, the eldest, for Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; Richard, the second son, for Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, the third, for Brittany. The dignity of Seneschal of France, attached to the county of Anjou, was at the same time conferred on Henry. Such ceremonies implied, on the part of the English king, a consent to delegate the government of at least the greater portion of his continental dominions to his sons, two of them betrothed to French princesses, which would have obviated for the future the mutual fear and rivalry of the two crowns. But Henry was too fond of power to abide by such a decision. He caused his eldest son to be subsequently crowned King of England without his queen, Margaret of France, participating in the ceremony. This annoyed Louis, and led to some of those feudal attempts at war usual to that monarch. Henry showed no signs of giving up to any of his sons independent power in their duchies. He negotiated a marriage for his youngest son, John, with a princess of Savoy, and stipulated giving him, as part of his *apanage*, three castles and domains situated in Anjou, part of his eldest brother's portion. Louis encouraged the discontent of the English princes, and there ensued a general conspiracy for the spoliation of Henry, in which his sons led the way, supported by Louis, and aided by the Counts of Flanders, of Blois, and of Boulogne. Henry durst not trust his feudatories to repel the enemy; they were most of them in the interest of the princes. He collected 20,000 mercenaries, and marched against Louis. The French king had just got possession of Verneuil by treachery more than by

the fair means of war, and had set fire to the town. When Henry approached, the French thought best to withdraw from it; while doing so, they were assailed by Henry, and put to the rout. Equal success attended the British king in his own island, where the King of Scotland had joined the combatants against him, and where the Earl of Leicester landed at the head of an army of Flemings; the Scottish king was taken prisoner, Leicester repulsed and captured. On Henry's departure for England, Louis had rallied and conducted an army of French and Flemings, with a large body of those Normans who had rebelled against Henry. He invested Rouen, and attempted to get possession of the city by the same perfidy which had won Verneuil. The French proclaimed a truce during the festival of St. Lawrence, and when the besieged citizens, trusting to the declaration of the pious monarch, abandoned their arms for festivity, Robert of Flanders marshalled the besiegers to the attack, and commenced it. This act of treachery was perceived in time by the Rouennese, and the Flemish count suffered a severe repulse. Henry entered Rouen the next day, and immediately opened the gates, preparatory to attacking the besiegers. They did not wait for it. Louis demanded a fresh suspension of hostilities, and withdrew his army in haste. The war thus ended in peace, the English princes submitting, and Louis at once abandoning them and his projects for humbling his rival.

Henry retained all the advantages of victory, and made use of them to extend his sway over the province of Berry, hoping thereby to cut off the King of France altogether from the south; but Louis soon after was struck by paralysis, and, enfeebled in mind and body, looked towards his successor's reign. In 1179 he summoned an assembly of prelates and barons, and ordained the coronation of his son Philip at the approaching parliament at Rheims. This ceremony, willingly agreed to

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by all present, was obliged to be postponed by the illness of the young prince. He was benighted whilst hunting in the forest of Compiegne, brought home by a peasant, but so terrified that a long illness was the consequence. Louis undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whither Henry courteously conducted him; and young Philip recovered.

He was crowned with great solemnity at Rheims on All Saints' Day, 1179, young Henry of England acting as seneschal, and the Count of Flanders holding the drawn sword before the newly-crowned sovereign. Philip began at once to exercise the functions of royalty, although his father survived in a paralytic state until the autumn of 1180.

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PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

1180—1223.

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NOTHING could be more noble than the conduct of Henry the Second of England, when the demise of the French monarch left the throne to a boy of sixteen. As usual at courts, two factions disputed the possession of power. The Queen Mother, Alix of Champagne, with her four brothers, claimed it as a natural right; but Philip, Count of Flanders, who had borne the drawn sword at the young king's coronation, and was his military guardian, emancipated him from his mother's influence. This he accomplished by bringing the young king northwards, and causing a marriage to be solemnised between him and the count's niece of Hainault. This princess was descended from Charlemagne, and brought her rights into the house of Capet. The Count of Flanders and his brothers being without male heirs, offered rich chances of succession. But the marriage settlement of Margaret of Hainault only made over to the King of France, after Philip's death, that portion of his territories known subsequently as Artois.* A second coronation was ordained for the royal spouses at Sens, but the Champagners threatening, Philip had it celebrated at St. Denis.

* Quidquid terræ et juris habebat ipse ultra magnum fossatum, which was drawn from St. Omers to the Lys. — *Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium, in Pertz.*

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It was a tempting opportunity for the English monarch to intervene and support one rival faction against another. The Queen Alix even besought his aid against her son, who refused to give up the castles and domains of her dowry. Henry came to France, but it was to reconcile the contending factions, to persuade Philip to behave generously to his mother, and to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship, stipulating that one king should make no demands of the other, except as regarded Auvergne, the fief of Chatellerault, and some portion of Berry, the rival claims to which were difficult at the moment to decide.

French historians profess astonishment at the noble disinterestedness of Henry, so contrary to what they consider his usual policy. But Henry had no policy. Though anxious to maintain and extend his possessions, he never was animated by hostility or jealousy towards the monarch or monarchy of France, which it was rather his anxiety to respect and preserve. The truth is, that the French had awakened in the twelfth century, and from its very commencement, to a feeling of patriotism and of pride in their country, whilst the English awoke to the corresponding feeling much later. Such a sense of insular patriotism inspired neither Henry the Second nor his sons. The heroic Richard had but little English sentiment; John none. In the wide extent of their dominions England was but a province, and in maintaining the house of Anjou against that of Capet, the princes of the former seemed actuated by no higher motive than defending their private property and family possessions, without casting a thought on the position or the prospects of England as a country. This patriotic, distinct, and rival feeling scarcely became the sentiment of the English till the time of the Edwards. And much as the quarrels of Richard and Philip Augustus in the Holy Land tended to excite it, and did indeed excite it in the French mind, the English shared it so little that

we shall find Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, at the head of a large party in England against the native king.

During these times France, as then constituted, was not even a neighbour of England. Its frontier was remote from English shores, as were its policy or its rivalry. What animated the population of England at this epoch was not warlike hostility to any country, but an eagerness in each class to defend its rights and develope its interests,—nobles, citizens, and clergy struggling for immunities, and obtaining them even from the most powerful kings.

The great difference between the Angevin and Capetian monarchs was, that the former had nothing of what moderns designate by the name of foreign policy. They had indeed the Norman propensities of acquiring, but it was less to extend an empire, than to add estate to estate. They had, moreover, the Norman characteristic of taxing and levying money, and converting their judicial rights and institutions into fiscal machines. It was this that alienated the provinces of the south of France, which infinitely preferred that absence of legislation and consequently of extortion, which then distinguished the Capets. But the kings of England were at the same time chivalrous and generous, and for that reason shine far above their brethren and contemporaries of France, who were all, until the days of St. Louis, more or less actuated by those mean motives of policy, to which their feudal superiority of rank, joined to their great inferiority of substantial power and wealth, gave strenuous impulse.

Another characteristic of the age was the low state of military science, and the consequent inefficiency of warlike efforts. Before or at the birth of feudalism, princes raised large armies, won battles and effected conquests. Now that feudalism had grown up, the mailed warrior seemed to go to the encounter in no very serious anta-

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gonism. Battles were fought with the result of a very few slain, and ransom was more the object than conquest, especially in France, where Norman and Angevin, Fleming and Champagner were fellow countrymen, on good terms with each other during a campaign, and having a private rather than a public aim. Henry the Second and other princes, disgusted with the mockery of feudal fighting, hired mercenaries; but they, however more ferocious to pillage, were even less so to fight, than the noblesse, with whose scutage the Brabançons were paid. Armies therefore met merely to negotiate, and victory fell to the trickster rather than to the warrior. Philip Augustus excelled in this most anti-chivalrous science, with which he was able to circumvent even the veteran Henry. The brave but reckless Richard, who so far outshone the French monarch in the field, became of course his dupe, and paved the way for the imbecile John becoming his victim. The Anglo-Angevin princes were gaudy flies for whom Philip Augustus, as a crafty spider, wove the tangling web, to pounce upon them when embarrassed beyond power of extrication.

This nullity of warlike effort, and efficiency of diplomatic intrigue, gave great advantage and influence to the clergy. And the Capetians had taken care hitherto to come forward as ecclesiastical champions. Philip Augustus inaugurated his reign by what he considered an act of signal piety. He banished all the Jews, and confiscated their property. He followed up this by the persecution of the Waldensian protestants. The same spirit led him to embark on the crusade to Syria first, and later to promote that against the Albigenses. In return the clergy supported Philip Augustus to the utmost, and mainly aided in the extension of his empire, southward and westward. Nor was this early acquired character of being the eldest son of Rome without influence upon the future fortunes of the French monarchy.

In the first year of Philip's reign, the intervention of Henry the Second was necessary to remedy the effect of the young king's abandoning himself too completely to the influence of the Count of Flanders. Some time after, his intervention was required to put a stop to a war between France and Flanders. The young queen had died without issue; but Philip not the less claimed the Vermandois. The great feudatories took part against Philip. It was the more necessary for Henry to come to his aid, and bring about an accommodation with the Count of Flanders, by which the King of France acquired Amiens.

There was one party which the negotiators forgot to consult. This was the citizens of Amiens. If the people of Aquitaine and Anjou preferred French suzerainty to the yoke of the Anglo-Norman kings, the towns of the north at this time preferred remaining united under the sovereignty of the Count of Flanders, who protected their municipal privileges and development, to passing under the dominion of a king of France. Amiens, therefore, refused to come under the royal jurisdiction; and when Philip Augustus insisted, the Count of Flanders stood on his defence. "His great towns mustered strong," says the poet, William the Breton. "Gand, proud of its castellated mansions, sent 20,000 combatants. Ypres, renowned for its dyes, two legions. Arras, the capital, was not behind, neither was Bruges — famous for its buskins — nor Lille, nor St. Omer." At the head of this formidable army the Count of Flanders marched nearly to the gates of Paris, which he threatened to break in. He, however, thought it advisable to retreat, and the king then advanced to Amiens. Unable to invest or approach so considerable a town, Philip contented himself with laying siege to the castle of Boves, where the king's uncle managed to patch up a peace.

Philip Augustus was also obliged to turn his arms

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against the Duke of Burgundy, who affected to dispute the royal authority. The king, as usual, pretended that his object was to defend the Church, and compel those great nobles to be amenable, in all disputes with the high clergy, to his royal court in Paris. Philip besieged and took Chatillon, which forced the Burgundians to submit. In the course of the expedition, the king asked for the aid of the clergy of Rheims and their men. The clergy refused the men, but promised their prayers. Some time after, the lords of Coucy and Rethel pillaged the domains of these ecclesiastics, who immediately had recourse to Philip. The king's answer was, that he could only help the clergy of Rheims with his prayers.

Whilst the monarch of France, in the first years of his reign, had thus so little command over his great feudatories, he still managed to keep up an antagonism with Henry the Second of England, and repay the generosity of that monarch by feeding the discontent and encouraging the turbulence of his sons. The Capetians habitually educated their princes in the cloister, the Plantagenets abandoned theirs to the nurture of the rudest chivalry. Mere hot-brained soldiers, their sire could not trust them with provinces or independent command; yet, refusing them this, drove them into rebellion. The eldest, Henry, died about this time, and sent to beseech his sire to hasten to his deathbed. The king could not but suspect there was artifice or an ambuscade in the message, and his eldest son expired alone. One of the troubadours of the time tells an affecting story of King Henry. He had captured his arch enemy, a poet and a warrior, Bertrand de Born, who had stirred Aquitaine against him, and who had ever prompted the deceased prince to rebellion. Henry reproached De Born with his villany and his want of sense. "Sense!" exclaimed De Born, "you may truly say I lost it when your son Henry, my best friend and

noble champion, died." "At the mention of his son's name the old king relented, burst into tears, and not only pardoned but enriched De Born.*

When Richard succeeded to the position of heir-apparent to the English throne, Henry left him Aquitaine to govern, or rather misgovern, for his rule was most unpopular. Philip thought to take advantage of this, and, raising an army in Berry, laid siege to Chateauroux. Richard threw a force of *cottereaux*, or mercenaries, into it; and Philip being unable to take it, whilst Henry feared and suspected a secret understanding between the French king and his son, a truce was concluded between them.

The petty quarrels of the monarchs were silenced by the disastrous news which arrived in 1187, announcing that in July of that year the Crusaders of Syria had been defeated in a sanguinary battle near Tyberiade by Saladin, who afterwards captured the Holy City. The King of Jerusalem, the Princes of Antioch and Tyre, were made prisoners; the captive Templars and Hospitallers put to death; and the Christian hold of the Holy Land reduced to a few maritime towns. William, Archbishop of Tyre, and historian of the Crusades, himself brought home the melancholy tidings, first to Sicily and to Rome, from whence he proceeded on the same mission of succour to France.

Henry the Second had made frequent vows to assume the cross, and proceed to the Holy Land, where the Christian principalities had been long in a decaying state. Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, had become afflicted with the leprosy. The marriage of his daughter Sybille to Guy de Lusignan caused serious disagreements amongst the princes of Palestine. And the Archbishop of Jerusalem, choosing to excommunicate the Prince of Antioch for a question of marriage, turned his arms

* De Born figures in Dante's *Purgatorio*.

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against the Church and the crusaders, instead of against the Saracens. In 1185 the Patriarch of Jerusalem besought Henry the Second to come to its aid. But he and the King of France merely agreed to send a sum of money. Both, therefore, were conscience-smitten when, two years later, they heard of the battle of Tyberiade and the fall of Jerusalem. Early in 1188 the sovereigns held a solemn meeting under a celebrated beech tree between Trie and Gisors, where William of Tyre presented himself, and expatiated on the abandonment of the Holy Land by the princes of Christendom. Whether moved by policy or affected by religion, Henry fell on his knees and assumed the cross. The French expressed their annoyance that the Plantagenet should have anticipated the Capet. Philip Augustus at once assumed the red cross, the King of England and his son Richard the white one. No slight incentive to both monarchs was the offer of the Pope, granting them a tenth from the clergy, which they hastened to promulgate and exact.* The speedy departure of the monarchs was prevented by an onslaught of the restless Richard upon Toulouse. Richard was in an understanding with Philip Augustus, and was unwilling to depart for Palestine whilst his brother John, whose insidious character he dreaded, and who was the favourite of his father, remained behind. At an interview with Henry, Philip demanded that John should join the crusade, and that the French princess Alix, betrothed to Richard and kept at the English court, should be given to him. Henry would not part with John, nor could Alix, whom it was said Henry had seduced, be married to Richard. The prince, therefore, aided by Philip, prosecuted the war with his father; and as the nobles of Aquitaine and Poictiers preferred the cause of Richard, the heir-apparent, to his

* The Jews in England paid 68,000*l.*; the Christians 78,000*l.* The produce of the tax in France is not known.

aged sire, Henry was everywhere worsted. The French and Richard appeared before Le Mans, where Henry was. In defence the king set fire to the suburbs, but this did not prevent Richard from storming the town, and penetrating into it as his father fled from the opposite gate. The conqueror immediately laid siege to Tours, where Henry had but sixty-nine knights and a hundred sergeants for garrison. This, too, was carried by assault, and Henry had but to yield to the hard terms imposed upon him by his son and by France. The latter obtained the cession of all Berry and Auvergne. Henry engaged to pardon all those of his kingdom who had joined his enemies. For the execution of this condition it was necessary that the king should be provided with a list of those who had joined the King of France and Richard against him. The first name upon that list was his son John, for whose sake Henry had engaged in the war. This was too much for Henry, who retired to Chinon to die, cursing his son as he expired. Richard came to visit the remains of his father: blood is said to have flowed from the nostrils of the royal corpse at his presence.

In the summer of 1190, Philip Augustus, after paying his devotions to the shrines and relics at St. Denis, proceeded southward on what is known as the Third Crusade. The guardianship of the kingdom he left to his mother and to her brother the Archbishop of Rheims. But the monarch took especial care that they should not abuse their powers nor excite discontent amongst his subjects. Well knowing the clamour for commercial or municipal rights, Philip sought to leave his townsfolk no cause of complaint. He therefore ordained that his *baillis* should choose four loyal and wise citizens from each *prevoté*—that is, each town; that the affairs of towns should be discussed and decided by their counsel; and that nothing should be done without the consent of at least two of their number. In Paris

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there were to be six of these town counsellors. The bailiffs were to hold assizes every month. And every four months a court of appeal and council were to assemble in Paris under the presidency of the queen or the Archbishop of Rheims. At this all the bailiffs from different parts of the kingdom were to appear, to render an account of their administration. The king reserved to himself the right of removing these magistrates, except when they had been guilty of either murder, rape, or treason. Churches were to have full freedom of electing their prelates. The royal revenues, brought to Paris three times a year, were to be given into the hands of the citizens appointed for the purpose. If any of these died, it was not for the Regency but for William de Garlande, no doubt a kind of finance minister, to name their successors. From this testament, as it was called, it will be seen that, although towns under the immediate rule of the King of France may not have had a municipal charter, and that although the assemblies of barons and notables in parliament scarcely existed, nevertheless Philip Augustus at least was anxious to secure to French citizens a certain control over their affairs, and to his subjects fair and not feudal justice.

As in the former crusade, the emperor, at the head of the German chivalry, now took the lead by traversing Asia Minor. Barbarossa was more fortunate than Conrad in forcing his way across that country. But he did so, merely to perish when bathing in the waters of the Cydnus. The kings of France and England proceeded to Lyons, which still was a comparatively free city of the empire, the suburbs westward of the Soane alone owning French jurisdiction. Philip Augustus crossed the Alps to take ship at Genoa. Richard descended to Marseille. Both monarchs met and united at Messina. The place was ill chosen; for Richard had cause of complaint against Tancred, King of Sicily, and he, as usual, had recourse to violence. He took Messina by

storm, and hoisted his flag upon the ramparts, to the annoyance of Philip. Richard too proposed to marry Berengaria of Navarre in lieu of Philip's sister, Alix, to whom he had been betrothed. He gave, however, good reason for his conduct, and Philip consented to it. The monarchs agreed at the same time that if either of them had male issue, and not the other, the prince should inherit the Norman Vexin. And if Richard had two sons, one of them should hold Normandy or Aquitaine, or Maine and Anjou, directly of the King of France, his brother having the rest.

The two kings met again under the walls of Acre, which it was one object of the crusade to take from Saladin. Richard fell ill, and Philip, anxious to reduce Acre without him, rushed to the assault. It was not successful. But at length, owing in no small degree to Richard's prowess, Acre surrendered, on condition that Saladin was to ransom the prisoners, and restore the wood of the true cross. With the capture of Acre Philip had enough of crusading. He was outshone by Richard, who had a greater command of money as of fame. And the French king embarked, to the great chagrin of his compatriots, whom he left under the command of the Duke of Burgundy. He swore at his departure to respect the dominions of Richard. But his first act on reaching Europe was to crave from Pope Celestin to be released from so inconvenient a promise. Saladin had just liberated the King of Jerusalem upon his taking a similar oath, which the Pope without any hesitation annulled. He was not so indulgent to Philip, who, however, was ingenious enough to invent another mode of dispensation.

Philip pretended and gave out, that Richard had employed some of the Syrian sect of assassins to murder him, having already employed them to kill the Marquis of Montferrat. He in consequence surrounded his person with guards, and sent to offer John to secure his

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succession to the dominions of his brother. The next heir to them was Arthur, the son of Geoffrey. John therefore listened to the suggestions of the King of France, and even repaired to his court, previous to the latter invading Normandy. Such an act of aggression upon a monarch engaged in the crusade, and whom Philip had taken a solemn oath not to injure, might awaken the indignation of the Church and the disgust of his own people. Philip, to set himself right and prove his piety, ordered the murder of a number of unfortunate Jews.

Whilst engaged in these hostilities word was brought that Richard, after a brilliant victory over Saladin, rendered useless by the refusal of the French to aid him in the occupation of Jerusalem, had returned to Europe. Fearing the enmity of the King of France, he took his way in disguise through Germany, and had thus become the prisoner of the Duke of Austria, to whom he had been rude when in Palestine. The duke made over his prisoner to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, who informed the King of France, and received in answer the hope expressed, that Richard should never be set free. Philip forthwith invaded Normandy, took Evreux, but was repulsed from Rouen. In the midst of these preparations the German emperor, having received Richard's ransom from Queen Eleanor, was compelled to release him, and communicated to Philip the fact of "the devil having broke loose." Richard lost no time in taking vengeance. His brother John quailed before him, and sought to pacify his lion-hearted brother by giving up Evreux and delivering its French garrison to slaughter.

War broke out between the monarchs, but the resources of both were exhausted by the crusade, and Richard's, moreover, by the enormity of his ransom. Philip was obliged to derogate from his usual defence of the clergy. Hearing, says Rigord, that the English king had expelled the clerics of St. Martin of Tours, he

did the same by churchmen in English jurisdiction, appropriating their revenues, and loading with heavy exactions the churches of his own kingdom — "The kings, his predecessors, he declared, unable to pay their knights through poverty, had lost the greater part of their estates." The same feeling, that money was the best sinew of war, made Philip about the same time recall the Jews, a measure equally odious to the clergy as their own spoliation. CHAP. V.

There were other reasons than avarice for this disaffection of Philip Augustus to the Church. On the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, who had given him a son (Louis), the king had espoused Ingeburge of Denmark. But taking a sudden and unaccountable dislike to his new spouse, he obtained a divorce from an assembly of clergy and nobles at Compiegne. On the Sovereign of Denmark appealing to the Pope, Celestin the Third fulminated bulls against the French king, and forbade him to enter into another marriage; he notwithstanding espoused, in 1196, Mary of Meran, Princess of the Tyrol. He in consequence was excommunicated and remained in hostility with the Pope until the beginning of the next century; the circumstance seriously crippling his power, though not leading to the dangerous consequences that befell German monarchs in a similar predicament.

The continuation of the war between Philip and Richard, which endured nearly to the time of the latter's death in 1199, was marked by no great military or political event. Its annals afford but one or two anecdotes. Philip on one occasion escaped with difficulty over the river Epte, leaving most of his knights to be captured in its waters. On another occasion, Prince John, with a band of Brabançons, advanced pillaging to the very gates of Beauvais. The bishops and the archdeacons armed, and put themselves at the head of the citizens to repel the plunderers. It was a gallant

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act, nowise derogatory to the clerics who were taken. The Pope, at the request of the Chapter of Beauvais, demanded the liberation of the bishop; to which Richard, anxious for ransom, replied by sending the bishop's armour, and asking if the Pope acknowledged his son's tunic.

The most remarkable circumstance of the war was its extension to Germany, and its connection with the feuds of that country. It was one result of the crusades, which had mingled together princes of different lands. Henry the Second had married his daughter Matilda to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Brunswick. Otho the Second, son of this marriage, had attached himself to his uncle King Richard, who created him Duke of Aquitaine and Poitou. After the death of the Emperor Henry the Sixth, the cruel ransomer of Richard when it was proposed to raise up a competitor to his family, Otho was pitched upon, and Richard naturally embraced his cause. Philip Augustus of course allied with the Hohenstauffen, the family of Henry the Sixth, and formed an especial alliance with its representative, Philip the Gentle. The dispute was rendered more complicated by the Pope's embracing the part of Otho, for the sake of crushing the pretensions of the Hohenstauffen in Naples. Philip Augustus found a decided enemy in the Count of Flanders, from whom he had retained several of the important towns of his dominions. The king thought at first to reduce the count to submission by invading his country; but he did this with a boldness and precipitancy which his counsellors dissuaded. The count allowed the French to advance, then broke the sluices, and filled the dykes behind them, so as to cut off all supply of provisions or reinforcements. This act obliged the king to purchase a retreat by the surrender of the towns which he had taken.

The death of Richard turned the efforts of Philip in another direction. During the late years of the war,

John had shown no leaning towards his old ally, the King of France. He had, on the contrary, led troops against Beauvais, and had urged Richard to the alliance by which the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne had agreed to break with France. Philip Augustus, therefore, was at full liberty to embrace the rightful claim of Arthur, John's nephew, especially upon Brittany, Maine, and Anjou. Eleanor, the queen-mother, however, disliked Constance, the mother of Arthur. She maintained John's rights, and when the nobles of Touraine and Anjou made submission to Arthur, she enabled John to march with his trusty Brabançons (whose services he had secured) against these provinces. Le Mans and Angers were successively taken and sacked. And Constance could do no more than commit young Arthur to the keeping of the French monarch. John, after his first advantages, hurried to England to secure his recognition, and then returned to meet Philip, who made large demands. But France then lay under an interdict, and its monarch was not in a condition to push Arthur's claims by arms, abandoned as that prince was both by the English and Normans. Philip, therefore, came to an agreement with John at Andelys. Neither was to build any forts or castles between the woods of Vernon and those of Andelys. John gave up what he possessed in Berry to Philip's son Louis, who was to marry John's niece, Blanche of Castille. The King of England was not to aid the Count of Flanders, or the Emperor Otho, against Philip. Arthur was to have Brittany; and John was to pay 20,000 marks by way of *relief* for what he held in France. Philip's chief object seems to have been the money, as, being under an interdict, he could only depend upon the soldiers whom he paid.

The death of Mary of Meran soon after put it in Philip's power to become reconciled to the Church, and get rid of the difficulties which till then beset him.

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The first use he made of his freedom was to recommence the war with John. That king had carried off the wife of the Count de la Marche, who complained to Philip Augustus. The latter summoned John before the Court of Peers, which mandate John disobeying, the King of France invaded Normandy, and sent young Arthur to attack Tours and Poitou. The Dowager Eleanor happened at the time to be at Mirabeau; which Arthur and his companions immediately invested, and forced the walls of the town. Eleanor withdrew to the castle; but John hastened to the relief of his mother, surprised the besiegers by a night attack, and took them all prisoners. Young Arthur was forthwith committed to the tower of Falaise, whilst Philip, who had advanced as far as Angers, hastened back to the rescue of Arthur; but it was too late. The spring of 1202 was spent by Philip in an invasion of Aquitaine, which proved without results. After relieving Alençon from John, who besieged it, the French king mustered his forces for the reduction of Château Gaillard, near Andelys, then the great frontier fortress of Normandy. John, on his part, brought his captive nephew to Rouen, when, to be rid of so dangerous a competitor, the English king caused him to be murdered.

This crime, though imperfectly proved, sufficed to deprive John of most of his friends, as well as of all energy and presence of mind. He feared to face his enemy in battle. He could have raised soldiers, or at least contributions, in England; but he preferred feasting at Rouen and at Caen, and mocking those who expostulated with him. Cœur de Lion had fortified the approach to Normandy by the Seine, building the strong castles of Andelys. Philip determined to reduce them, and first directed his attacks to the castle on the island. John, who had maintained but a weak garrison in these forts, made a feeble effort to retain them, sending to their relief a band of mercenaries, with a certain num-

ber of the citizens of Rouen. Their attempt to relieve the castle in the island, the only effort made by John to defend Normandy, having failed, the French king took possession of the island, and then invested Château Gaillard, as the castle on the height was called. He surrounded it with a line of fortifications, well manned, and maintained a blockade for six months, in order to starve out the garrison. He then attacked it with his machines, and made a breach. De Lacy, the governor, having no longer a meal, tried to cut his way through the besieging army, at the head of some six and thirty knights — the whole garrison, with the exception of about a hundred *gens d'armes*. They were surrounded, and taken. Philip spent the year of 1203 in reducing Normandy south of the Loire. In the following year he turned towards Rouen. That city, together with the remaining garrisons of John, promised to surrender to the French king, on his stipulating to respect their privileges, and in case that John did not send them succour within a month. John could afford none; and in June, 1204, Rouen, after having for 300 years belonged to Norman princes, opened its gates to Philip Augustus.

This complete and unexpected conquest of a province which had so often proved itself equal, if not superior, to the duchy or the kingdom of France, did not relax the efforts of Philip Augustus. In a few weeks after, he crossed the Loire, took Poictiers, and was only stopped by winter. He summoned his "counts, dukes, and magistrates" for the following Easter, and the nobles flocked readily to the standard of the conqueror. Loches and Chinon were the fortresses of Touraine, erected or strengthened by Cœur de Lion. Philip took the first by assault, with its garrison of 120 men; and Chinon afterwards underwent the same fate.

The infatuated John was in the meantime levying heavy contributions in England, in order to raise fleets

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and armies for the defence of his provinces. He set sail from Portsmouth, but in a few days re-landed near Wareham. Not only had his barons deserted him, but even the clergy contemned so weak a prince. The monks of Canterbury elected an archbishop without consulting him; and this led to his quarrel with the Pope, at the very time when he durst not meet the French in the field.

The state of Aquitaine, however, was such in a short time as to inspire John with hopes. The conquests of Philip Augustus were not, like those of William the Norman, made exclusively with the sword. The nobles of the provinces which submitted to him transferred, not unwillingly, their allegiance to the King of France. He could not, therefore, dispossess them or replace them by barons more firmly in his trust. He left, therefore, Poitou in the keeping of Guy de Thouars, one of the chief nobles, whose brother at the same time ruled Brittany, as guardian of its infant duchess. Differences arising between Philip Augustus and de Thouars, the latter called John to his aid. Philip marched against Nantes, and made himself master of it, as well as of the young Duchess of Brittany. John landed at La Rochelle, and was at first successful. He crossed the Loire, took Angers and Dol, but was as unable as unwilling to face the army which King Philip led in person. They concluded, therefore, a two years' truce between them, John being ashamed to sanction by the name of peace the cession of his ancestral dominions on the Continent. The truce is dated October, 1206.

The commencement of the thirteenth century was an epoch of great change, the relative positions of countries and of powers being altogether different, nay, the reverse of what they were some years previous. In the twelfth century the kingdom of France was circumscribed and overwhelmed by the superior extent, in power and wealth, of the Anglo-Norman monarch;

whilst in political importance the struggles between Pope and Emperor threw the events and annals of France into comparative insignificance. The French race, indeed, redeemed this nullity of their sovereign by the lead which they took in the crusades. The Godfreys and the Baldwins made up by their heroism and their valour for the nullity of Louis the Seventh and for the secondary part played by Philip Augustus in the Holy Land. And this superiority of French chivalry, though eclipsed in Palestine, shone forth in the foundation of an empire as ephemeral indeed, but still brilliant for the time—the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins.

Both Louis the Seventh and Philip Augustus thought to redeem the weakness of their crown and place themselves on a par with other sovereigns by entering into the lists of chivalry and setting forth for the crusades. In this their aim was altogether disappointed. And Philip Augustus turned his talents and his efforts, both great, towards obtaining the same object by policy pursued from Paris, rather than by feats of arms in Palestine. The accession to the throne of England of so mean a wretch as John facilitated the task.

Philip Augustus accomplished this with great ability. It was not merely by activity, skill, and courage in the field, but by good and equitable government, by institutions, by the establishment and exercise of law. The great source of strength at this time to the monarch of France lay, no doubt, in the civic and industrious classes, which had taken large development, as attested by the chroniclers. The origin of the communes or of municipal freedom, sought and won by those classes, was the desire to have fairness of jurisdiction and fixity of fiscal dues, instead of being subject to the caprice of feudal or ecclesiastical lords. Philip Augustus sanctioned the charters of his predecessors to towns not under his immediate rule; whilst to those in which his own officers had authority, the policy of Philip was to secure all

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the results and advantages of municipal freedom to the citizens without the form. Thus, whilst the monarch confirmed the charters of Laon or of Beauvais, he abolished that of Etampes, and secured to the citizens of Orleans and Paris, not the fact of municipal rights, but the results which the citizens aimed at in establishing them. He was the more confirmed in this conciliatory and popular policy when he came to be the conqueror of Normandy and other French provinces. For the maintenance of these he could far more depend upon the civic classes than upon the barons; and he soon made it apparent to the former, and indeed to both, that their position under the equable and legal administration of a king of France was far preferable to the eternal worry and extortion of such a sovereign as John.

His great conquests and acquisitions imposed upon Philip Augustus the more difficult and important task of bringing completely under his royal jurisdiction the powerful aristocracy of those distant provinces. His predecessors and himself had reduced and organised the duchy of France, and the ancient territories of the crown in a system highly favourable to royalty. Municipal independence within that region had not been allowed. The power of counts and nobles in towns had also been abrogated, and in those places the king's provosts became the chief local authority. The provosts, however, as we see from the Testament, as it is called, of Philip Augustus, took no important step without consulting the *Prudhommes* or notable citizens elected for that purpose.* For suits or offences too important for the decision of the provosts, there was the royal court, which at first presided over by the monarch, had for its assessors the nobles of his duchy, who were also his officers and courtiers. The difficulty of making the great feudatories, such as the Duke of Normandy

* See in Laferrière (Histoire du Droit Français), a list of the fifty Prevots and Prevotés of Philip Augustus' time.

or Count of Champagne, attend or be amenable to such a court has been explained as making the great difference between the French and the Anglo-Norman monarchies. But Philip Augustus, aided by the ideas of the age, overcame this difficulty. One effect of the crusades was, by placing kings, their courts and their pretensions, in juxtaposition, to enhance the ambition of asserting superiority. The imaginative and poetic spirit, which the crusades gave birth to, also came in aid of this. Charlemagne was the great ideal hero of the time. The arrangements and the dignities of his court, borrowed in the ninth century from the Byzantine Empire, were again resuscitated for the coronation of Philip Augustus. As Charlemagne was recorded to have appointed twelve great dignitaries or paladins, this was fixed upon as the mystic number of the peers of France.* There were not more than three great French feudatories, indeed, at the accession of Philip Augustus: these were the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Champagne, and the Count of Flanders; the latter of whom, moreover, looked to the emperor as suzerain of a portion of his territories. As to the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, united to the crown of England, and paying nominal homage to the King of France, they could scarcely be considered peers. As little could the Count of Toulouse. Six lay peers were, however, supposed to exist. Six ecclesiastical ones were adjoined to them. And as these found themselves very often the sole assessors of the court, the support of the Church was secured to the establishment of an institution, which placed princes and monarchs at the judicial mercy of a few French prelates, and they not even eminent ones.† Such were the personages who affected

* For the multitude of instances in which twelve was considered the fittest, or indeed the sacred number for all purposes of judgment or council, see Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the Eng. Commonwealth.

† The ecclesiastical peers were the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Laon, Beauvais, Chalons, Noyon, and Langres. The Archbishop of Tours and of Sens were considered too independent.

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to treat King John as a peer, to condemn him for the murder of Arthur, and to confiscate his possessions. The Duke of Burgundy was the only lay peer who was present at a judgment of 1216, relative to the succession of Champagne. It was the bishops who judged. In 1224, the fiction of a Court of Peers, consisting chiefly of the absent, was considered too absurd; and the officers of the court, such as constables, chamberlains and chancellors, were empowered to take part in the trial and judgment. The decrees of such a tribunal could only be made valid or respected by the armies which supported them. But Philip Augustus made it the interest of his nobles to enforce them, and that with all their power. So that the Court of Peers, or the Parliament, as it came to be called, flourished and grew in spirit to differ widely from its feudal origin. At first, under the colour of being a council of noblesse, it was made a tribunal of ecclesiastics. Afterwards the power of the Crown to compose or complete such a council by its officers and courtiers, enabled it to introduce legists, men of a new class, which had risen up with the revival of study of the Roman law. And these rendered the Crown far other services than courtier nobles or ecclesiastics.

One of the great strides of the Parliament and, in association with it, of the Crown to power, was made by its being considered a court of appeal from the sentences of seignorial jurisdiction. In addition to the *prevots* or magistrates, which the Crown appointed to govern towns, it also named *baillis* or royal governors of districts, who superseded in a great measure feudal administration. These were extended by degrees and under different titles to the conquered provinces. They referred all doubtful or important questions to the Court of Paris, and commenced that system of administrative and judicial centralisation, which combated and neutralised feudalism, without destroying it, and

laid the foundation of a monarchy as despotic as any of even Oriental origin.

To this consummation Philip largely contributed. The supremacy of his crown, which up to his time was but a feudal name, he rendered a reality, sanctioned by forms, and supported by institutions, which flattered the aristocracy with an apparent share of power, conciliated the citizens by a semblance of freedom, and kindled generally a spirit of patriotism and pride in the new country of France, which few other monarchs could incite or instil. In a word, it was only in France that the great experiment of Monarchy fully succeeded. In Germany it failed altogether for a time. The English began to found a system peculiar to themselves, — a monarchy controlled by the other classes of society, and more or less responsible to them. Centuries were required to develope, to fashion, to regulate such a principle, and to arrive at representative government. The consultative monarchy of France, on the contrary, started from the first very much what it continued to be to the last. It was a deification of the sovereign, an assumption of prerogative and supremacy, resembling those which the Pope claimed in spiritual matters, and in fact rivalling them. Whilst the Pope summoned monarchs before his consistory, deposed them, and granted their kingdoms to others by virtue of his spiritual authority, the kings of France affected to do the same by right of their feudal supremacy. The language of the early French jurisprudents and chroniclers was, in fact, modelled upon that of the churchmen. So pretentious a power could not long remain in amity with that of the Roman pontiffs. The antagonism betweem them was, however, for some time adjourned. They were nigh quarrelling later, as to which of them should dispose of the crown of England, which had in a manner fallen from John's head. But previous to John's prostration, the French King and the Roman Pope had a

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common object, which was to recover the entire south of France from sentiments and from jurisdictions inimical to both.

The inhabitants of this region were in advance of surrounding countries, in respect to mental cultivation. This was owing, in a great measure, to the blending of the feudal and the civic elements, each retaining and contributing its peculiar character. The nobles preserved the chivalrous spirit, their devotion to the weaker sex, the love of luxury, the cultivation of minstrelsy and song; whilst the civic class, whether patrician or plebeian, far more numerous and prevalent than in the north, received a far better education in youth, and improved the knowledge so acquired by social habits and intermixture.* In Italy, from some cause, the civic and feudal population quarrelled and rushed into internecine wars, which, fostered and fanned by the feuds between Pope and Emperor, distracted the Italians for a time from intellectual occupation or enjoyment. Languedoc and Provence were comparatively exempt from this strife. The townspeople lived contented under the sovereignty of their counts, who respected their privileges, and shared their opinions and their pleasures. In this phase of society had sprung up, in Languedoc, the language and literature of the Troubadours.

Such light literature, however, took its birth from graver studies. There were schools at Toulouse, and a Spanish monarch, the King of Arragon, being suzerain of the country, the learning of the Arabs crossed the Alps, and was cultivated in the south before it was known in the north. As to the Church of Rome, it taught nothing. Its doctrine was for the most part a negation of all that free and rational minds imagined or

* One of the conditions which Rome afterwards sought to impose was, that the nobles should abandon residing in towns, and should live with and clothe themselves like peasants.

asserted. The sole guide in its decisions was what would enhance the grandeur of the Church, not what was consonant to either truth, to human or divine nature. Audacious to invent, and tyrannical to impose a dogma, it disdained to support it by philosophy or learning, although the use of logical and scholastic quibble was had recourse to by a few sanguinary pedants. The doctors of the Church soon flung away even these for the only arguments congenial to them, those of the torch and the sword. Amidst this reign of spiritual ignorance and tyranny, wherever there was a school, there was of course a heresy. Wherever men set themselves to think and to teach, they did so in a spirit different from the monks. Every man who cultivated his mind became necessarily a heretic, and any one who uttered a rational opinion, committed treason against the reigning absurdity. In fact, it was the position of the nineteenth century that was presented by the thirteenth, except that bigotry was far more preponderant, and the protest of intellect infinitely more weak. The Provençals did all that was possible. They anticipated Voltaire, overwhelmed the clergy with satire, and neutralised the religion, at least, of Rome in the south.

Unfortunately, perhaps, the schism took a more formal and philosophic mode of dissent. The doctrines of the Paulicians, popular in Bulgaria and in many countries of the East, had penetrated, with the return of the crusaders, into their homes. The Paulicians agreed with the Provençals in their contempt of the wealth, tyranny, and ignorance of the clergy. They rejected those doctrines respecting the Eucharist and Absolution, which seemed invented rather to give authority to a priesthood than truth and strength to a religion. To this they joined a horror of the Old Testament, a belief in the principle of evil as more permanent and more ancient than the biblical Satan, and an exaggeration of the Christian doctrine of flesh warring against spirit,

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which made them repudiate marriage and eschew animal food. Of this heterogeneous creed, the clergy fastened upon the doctrine of the permanent principle of evil as unscriptural and heretical. It was too abstruse to be entertained, or, indeed, understood, save by a few dreamers. But the monks represented the whole religion as Manichean, and the certainly blameless habits of abstinence and continence as proceeding from a doctrine of old condemned by the Church. On the other hand, the reformers of the south, like all their successors, when they found their tenets proscribed and their lives sacrificed by Rome, denounced it "as that Babylon which John mentioned in the Apocalypse as the mother of fornication, drunk with the blood of the saints."*

Whatever semblance or leaning to the Manichean doctrine might have been taught or professed at Albi or Toulouse, certain it is that there was nothing of the kind in the tenets of that sect, which was confounded with the Albigenses in papal maledictions. In the mountains of Piedmont and Dauphiné, and in the valleys running up towards Monte Viso, the king of these mountains, there existed from the earliest times, and still exist, congregations of Christians who had never acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, or accepted its peculiar dogmas and teachings. These mountain Christians, called Vaudois, wherever they came in contact with Roman doctrines or pretensions, always repudiated them, and rejected in the same manner as the Albigenses all the tenets and usages adopted for the sake of the sanctity and power which they communicated to the priesthood. The Vaudois knew nothing of the two principles and were untainted, with any of the peculiarities, of the Paulicians. They had a Bible in their own language, as well as certain ancient books and poems inspired from Holy Writ, and in close accord-

* Chronique de G. de Puy Laurens.

ance with it; by these the Waldenses held in the twelfth, by these they still hold in the nineteenth century. CHAP. V.

From such countries very little money could flow into the papal treasury, and less than in any other country to the clergy. It was then the rule that every testament should be drawn up in the presence of the clergy and sanctioned by one of them; and it was on these occasions always imperative to bequeath something to the Church. This universal legacy duty the Languedocians refused. Tithes in Languedoc, too, had fallen into the hands of lay chiefs and impropriators.* No appeals came from thence that called for papal interference. The Pontiff, who shared the jurisdiction of the sovereign in such countries as France, England, and Germany, could not tolerate being excluded from Languedoc. He therefore despatched certain monks to perambulate the country and collect proofs of the heresy of the inhabitants. Their lukewarmness in matters of religion would not prove sufficient, unless it could be attributed to actual heresy. The papal envoys (Dominick, the founder of the monastic order of his name, was one of them,) who went upon this mission towards the commencement of the century soon found contradictors, and besought the authorities to exterminate them. Not meeting with acquiescence in their sanguinary demands, they exercised their legatine power in deposing the prelates of the region. The lay population were too deeply affected with contempt for Rome to be scared by such measures. The legates therefore besought several nobles of border lands to invade and war upon the Toulousans and Albigenses. These were afraid to face the enmity of the Count of Toulouse, who would not undertake to be the instrument of papal vengeance, however ready to confirm the papal tenets. The Church was therefore obliged to look farther for champions; and Pope Inno-

* See Laferrière, Hist. du Droit Français, tom. iv. p. 462.

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cent imagined to proclaim a crusade, the armed votaries of which should be incited to treat the Albigenses as Saracens, to slaughter the inhabitants, and take possession of their property and lands. In 1207 Innocent applied to the King of France, to the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and others, to undertake this crusade. They hesitated at the monstrous proposition, when a catastrophe occurred which very much resembled that of Thomas à Becket. One of the papal envoys, Peter of Castelnau, had bearded Count Raymond with intolerable insolence. He left the count's court, and proceeded to St. Gilles, upon the Rhone, where he happened to fall into a dispute with a knight, who was a servitor of the count's, on the subject of the heretical opinions of the province. The knight probably mocked the churchman, the latter replied by insult, and his resentment getting the better of his prudence, the gentleman ran Castelnau through the body. Pope Innocent's wrath knew no bounds when he learned the circumstances of the murder. He forthwith commissioned his legate, Arnaud, Abbot of Citeaux, to convoke an assembly for the purpose of proclaiming a crusade. The immunities and pardons promised induced the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, to assume the cross. The King of France held aloof. Raymond of Toulouse was his relative by descent; and Philip was also occupied with the conquest of John's dominions, and with organising and securing them. Raymond himself hastened to Paris, and besought the aid and intervention of Philip, who merely advised him to submit. Finding his demand thus evaded, the Count of Toulouse proceeded to the court of Germany, at which Philip Augustus took offence, and refused all countenance to his relative. Raymond then tried to bend the legate, and repaired to the camp of the new crusade, with his relative Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers. The

legate Arnaud merely referred them to Rome. Seeing at once from this reply that the legate was determined to proceed to extremities, Raymond Roger advised the Count of Toulouse to unite with him in vigorous defence. The latter wanted the resolution. His character partook of the softness of an intellectual country civilised beyond its age, and instead of taking up arms, he made supplication to Rome. The Pope demanded of the envoys of the count, that he should surrender his chief castles and strong places; and on their consenting, he charged a certain Milon to received them from the count. This papal lieutenant proceeded to Provence, but unfortunately dying, the count was again thrown upon the legate. To the latter he displayed the act of absolution given him by the Pope, and the treaty of reconciliation, on the condition of his surrendering his castles: the legate, for reply, commanded Raymond of Toulouse to guide the crusading army into the territories of the Viscount of Beziers, who had been making preparations for resistance. It was indeed not in the legate's power to stop the crusade. In addition to the army around him, another had collected in Agen, under the Counts of Auvergne and of Turenne, and several prelates, and another at Puy. The auxiliary armies set themselves in motion, carried towns by assault, and delivered heretical captives to the flames. The legate advanced against Beziers, which the count had garrisoned, but did not defend in person, having shut himself for preference in Carcassonne. The Albigenses were evidently inferior to their northern opponents in hardihood and military skill. There was a remarkable reason for this, in the fact, that feudalism, with its organisation of land and men, had not penetrated into Languedoc. Lands there were generally held not in fief, but were allodial. There were thus none to defend the land, but those who volunteered it. The only resistance to the crusaders was that, offered by the

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towns, which had not, as in Italy, organised a militia, because the citizens had never been at war with the nobles. Thus it was that the happiness, the union, the mutual forbearance and attachment of high and low for each other, instead of proving a blessing, as it would in a time of peace and justice to the southerns, betrayed them on the contrary, and made them a more easy prey to the ferocious and feudal northerns.

So little skill and energy did the inhabitants of Beziers show, that although they manned the walls at the appearance of the crusaders, they did not, or could not, prevent them filling the fosse, and planting ladders for an immediate assault. Beziers seems not to have been supplied with any of the engines of defence usual at the time. The poet of the crusade represents them as waving white flags to frighten the crusaders; as if this, or their shouts, could avail. The town was accordingly taken by assault; and a merciless massacre followed. The legate summoned to protect the innocent was said to have answered with the cry of "Kill, kill all. The Lord will protect his own." None were spared, not even those who had taken refuge in the cathedral. Women and children were slaughtered with the men. And to complete the holocaust, the town was set on fire. The poet compares it to that perpetrated by the Saracens upon the Christians at Edessa. Such an atrocious example of wholesale murder had never before occurred in European annals. It was reserved for the Church, and its especial armies, serving too principally for Heaven's pardon and indulgences, to perpetrate atrocities, only equalled but not surpassed by the Hun or the Mogul.

From the smoking ruins of Beziers the crusading army marched against Carcassonne, which they also endeavoured to take by a first assault. Carcassonne, however, was strong, and the presence of the viscount gave courage to the besieged, who repelled the cru-

saders in several attacks. The King of Arragon, suzerain of these southern lands, arrived soon after, and tried to mollify the legate, for he had not the courage to resist the crusaders. His intervention was useless, and the siege continued until the legate, after repeated repulses, despairing of reducing the town, had recourse to artifice, and sending an embassy to the viscount, persuaded this chief to come forth to parley, and to enter into personal intercourse with his foes. He soon had cause to regret this act of confidence; for, being enticed from the town on the pretext of a safe conduct, he was immediately arrested and conveyed to prison; on learning which the inhabitants abandoned Carcassonne to the occupation and plunder of the crusaders. The conquest of the two chief towns of the viscounty of Beziers being thus accomplished, the legate proposed transferring the possession and the title to one of those who had aided in the enterprise; but the chiefs who had engaged in the crusade could not adopt the views of the legate. The viscount, they said, had been overcome by treachery, not by arms. He had made every offer to put down heresy in his possessions, and had disavowed any such doctrines himself. One and all, therefore, — the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and the Count of St. Pol,— refused to accept the viscounty of Beziers, or sanction any further severity to the betrayed noble.

The legate found no reluctant candidate in Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester by marriage, chief of that remarkable family, whose sons aimed less at founding or aggrandising an aristocratic family than at rivalling princes and assuming the power of kings. It was the son of the chief of the crusade against the Albigenses, who, after the aristocracy of England had triumphed over John, introduced the popular interest and party into the struggle, and strove by their means to retain mastery over the kingdom. His father, Simon, who

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now accepted from the papal legate the title and domains of the Viscount of Beziers, with the guard of that unfortunate noble's person, was an iron fanatic, the most apt instrument that Rome could have chosen; and he took Beziers less for itself than as the commencement and the means of deposing the Count of Toulouse, and rendering himself the immediate lord, and Rome the suzerain, of Languedoc.

He was disappointed or retarded in these views by his brother nobles of the crusade, who withdrew as from a task fully accomplished. Simon, however, retained the service of 5000 Germans and Burgundians, and brought recruits from his own distant estates; and, fortifying himself in Beziers, as well as in the Limousin, he awaited till the churchmen should find him fresh armies and new pretexts of aggression. Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, soon after expired in prison, the usurper of his territories being, not unnaturally, suspected of hastening his death. Simon's next step was to ask of Raymond of Toulouse to act in amity and concert with him, no doubt for the extermination of heretics; in other words, receive the nascent inquisition into Toulouse. Raymond declining, the legate excommunicated him. To escape from this sentence the count hastened to Rome, where he was to all appearances benignly received, but still referred to the legate for the terms of final reconciliation. The legate, too, received Raymond on his return from Rome with much blandness, so that the count was wheedled into giving up to De Montfort the castle which defended Toulouse. Even this could not bend the legate from his purpose of maintaining the excommunication and reviving the crusade against Raymond. The latter, when made certain of such inveterate hostility, burst into tears. The legate observed they were but tears of malice, and added the expression of the Psalmist, "that did they amount to the floods of great waters, they should not come nigh

unto the Lord." The King of Arragon again interfered, and sought to obtain some terms for the Count of Toulouse; but the legate demanded the surrender into his hands of all the Toulousans whom he should denote as heretics; no noble or gentleman of the count's territories should be permitted to dwell in a town, but should withdraw to the country, and put on the frieze of the peasant. This sufficiently marks the hostility of the Church to the civilisation and education of the Country. De Montfort, moreover, was to be master, and Raymond was to enter the order of the Templars, and depart for the Holy Land.

Such conditions were a provocative to resistance. And at length, even the poor-spirited Raymond was driven to adopt it. He prepared for war, whilst several of the ecclesiastical peers of France marched with their vassals to the support of De Montfort. The latter opened the campaign of 1211 by the siege of Lavaur, a strong place within five leagues of Toulouse, defended by the most eminent of the Albigensian chiefs, and commanded by Amaury, of Montreal, and his sister Giralda, dame of the castle. Whilst the papal party in Toulouse itself, organised by the Bishop Foulques, lent all aid to the besiegers, Count Raymond still hesitated, and visited their camp in anger, indeed, but not in hostility. In consequence of his irresolution Lavaur was captured, Amaury de Montreal hanged from a gibbet, his sister Giralda precipitated into a well, and the remaining Albigenses committed to the flames. Encouraged by this success, De Montfort laid siege to Toulouse. But his force was not equal to the investment of the city; Count Raymond entering it with the Counts of Foix and Comminges, De Montfort was worsted in several attacks, and obliged to desist from the enterprise. This failure disheartened and sent away many of the supporters of De Montfort; and the Count of Toulouse, thus emboldened to assume the offensive,

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in turn besieged the chief of the crusade in Castelnaudary.

The war continued with varying success until, in 1213, Peter King of Arragon, victorious over the Spanish Mahommedans, had leisure to turn his attention north of the Pyrenees. Having collected proofs of the monstrous acts of cruelty and injustice committed by the Papal legate and commanders, he appealed to Romé, complaining at the same time that not only had the crusaders ravaged towns and massacred populations belonging to the Counts of Toulouse and Foix, which were in nowise affected with heresy, but they had invaded dominions belonging to the crown of Arragon, whilst he was himself engaged in combating the infidel. The Pope was either shaken and shamed by these remonstrances or affected to be so. But the legate and his clergy were determined to keep possession of Languedoc, some of them styling themselves dukes and counts, as well as bishops and archbishops. England and Naples were fiefs of the Holy See, why not the south of France? The King of Arragon pretended to suzerainty over it, and this it was that the crusading prelates resolved to repel.

Peter of Arragon, therefore, crossed the Pyrenees against them; but at the head of very insufficient forces, not more than a thousand knights. De Montfort mustered as many French men-at-arms. The citizens of Toulouse and other cities swelled the ranks of the King of Arragon, whilst the bishops brought their serfs and retainers to support De Montfort. Each chief was well fitted to represent the cause he fought for. Peter of Arragon was a valiant knight and a gay troubadour, a gallant and a poet. De Montfort a sincere and zealous devotee, abhorring gallantry and scorning verse. He intercepted a letter of Peters' to his mistress, declaring that her charms had been his inducement to cross the Pyrenees. The Abbot of Panniers remonstrating with

De Montfort against his project of attacking the larger army of Peter, the Count replied by showing him the amatory effusion of the King of Arragon, and asking: "How could he, who undertook the cause of God, fear a man who crossed it for the sake of a woman?"

Raymond of Toulouse advised Peter to stay within his entrenchments, and from thence weaken and wear out the heavy cavalry of De Montfort with his missiles ere he attacked it. The king would not listen to his advice, but drew up in the open field, when the knights of De Montfort issued from Muret in a compact body to attack. Their impetuous charge swept Spaniard and Provençal before it, the victors making for the banner of the king, in order to complete the success of the day by his death. Peter was slain valiantly fighting. The citizen warriors of Toulouse had followed the advice vainly given to Peter, and had entrenched themselves within their camp. But when they heard of the king's death, they flung themselves headlong, to reach the vessels in the Garonne, and perished in large numbers. Simon de Montfort being led before the naked body of Peter, showed no signs of commiseration; and marched forthwith barefooted to the church to return thanks for his signal victory.

The battle of Muret, fought in 1213, completely crushed not merely the Albigenses, but the native princes and populations of the south. The citizens of Toulouse proffered hostages: the Counts of Foix, of Comminges, of St. Gilles, of Toulouse submitted to the decree of the future council, which, assembling at Montpellier in the commencement of 1215, transferred the sovereignty of the country to Simon de Montfort. For the southerns there was no longer any trust in themselves, any hope from Arragon, any mercy in the Pope. All, therefore, turned their regards towards the King of France. Montpellier placed itself under his sovereignty, forbad Montfort to put his foot within its walls, and

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drove him out when he made forcible entrance. In the spring, Louis, son of the French king, came with a body of troops, under the pretence of joining the crusade, after its every result was accomplished. The prince by this means maintained the French king's rights, intervened between several towns and their persecutors; made them, indeed, demolish their own walls, but at the same time enabled them to feel that they had a suzerain, other than the Pope, to whom they might in case of need appeal.

The Pope in the meantime assembled the fourth council of Lateran, in which it was to be considered how those nations and princes were to be treated who differed from the Church. What had been already done with regard to the Count of Toulouse was here converted into a general rule. The prince who refused to extirpate heretics was to be excommunicated, his vassals released from their allegiance, and his territories transferred to the first Catholic occupant. How heretics were to be discovered and punished was also formally regulated, and this regulation was the establishment of the Inquisition. A council that passed such laws could scarcely prove indulgent to the Count of Toulouse and the other princes implicated. A poet of the age, however, insists that the Pope, Innocent, was touched with pity and remorse, and that he fain would have restored, if not Raymond, at least his son, to a great portion of his dominions.* This, however, would have been to despoil De Montfort, the most consistent, able, and unflinching champion that the Church had found. If the Pope felt compassion towards the old family of Toulouse, he was unable to indulge it. The council passed a decree in favour of De Montfort; but certain cities and districts of Provence were assigned to the son of Ray-

* "I will give him the Venaissin myself," William of Tudola makes the Pope say, "but God will restore him Tholouse, Agen, and Beaucaire."

mond. The Dominicans took possession of Toulouse; whilst, to combat such dangerous enemies as the Waldenses and the Poor of Lyons,—who preached humility and poverty in contrast with the luxury and splendour of the Church of Rome,—the order of the Franciscans was founded, who were to practise for the rest of the Church the virtues of poverty, and who, by the performance of those acts of piety which attract the poor and humble, were to secure the attachment to Rome of that lower class which appeared ready to escape from it.

The decree of the Lateran Council went forth in 1215. Humbled as were the Languedocians, the population would not submit to the monks or to De Montfort. The son of Raymond raised, in 1216, the standard of war in Provence; the father appeared in the Toulousan country. De Montfort, in revenge for the citizens displaying their predilections for the ancient count, seized, pillaged, and destroyed the principal inhabitants, and then hastened to Paris to do homage to Philip Augustus, and no doubt besought of him those succours from the north, without which it was impossible for De Montfort to dominate the south. Philip gave but a hundred knights, who were to remain and to war for six months in Languedoc. This was insufficient; and, in 1217, Raymond of Toulouse once more took possession of his ancient capital. De Montfort, with his usual activity, hastened to expel him; but the country rose on all sides in execration of the oppressor, whose brother and nephew, in a precipitate attack on Toulouse, were both stricken down, and himself obliged to retreat. This compelled De Montfort to convert the siege into a blockade, which lasted all the winter; and it was not till spring that he could commence active operations. In the meanwhile, the citizens had gathered courage, gained military science, and made ample provision of food and of the engines of war.

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They repelled the assault of De Montfort and the legate with an energy which, if exerted sooner, might have saved the south, its civilisation, and its creed. At length, on the *fête* of St. John, 24th of June, a stone from an engine struck Simon de Montfort on the breast, and delivered the south from its great oppressor.

The siege was immediately raised by Amaury de Montfort, son of Simon, who found it impossible to retrieve the fortunes of his house. A crusade directed against Egypt turned away that current of fanaticism and greed which had at first overwhelmed Languedoc. In 1219 Prince Louis, heir to the French throne, having taken La Rochelle from the English, finding himself with a victorious army in the neighbourhood of the disturbed south, marched, at the instigation of a papal legate, to lay siege to Toulouse. The town of Marmande lay in the way of their march, and the garrison capitulated. The bishops of the French army, however, declared that faith should not be preserved with heretics, and insisted on burning them all. The nobles opposed this infamy, and succeeded in saving the garrison; but the French soldiers, excited by the Bishop of Saintes, rushed in, and massacred the population, amounting to 5000 souls.

After this exploit, Louis marched to Toulouse, but, large as was his army, he could make no impression upon its walls. His troops were only bound to a term of feudal service, and he was thus soon obliged to decamp, after having burned his own engines. Shortly after, the old Count Raymond of Toulouse expired, and his son acquired fresh strength as well as rights. Amaury de Montfort could not hold his ground before him; he therefore, in 1222, made offer to Philip Augustus to cede to him all his rights in Languedoc. The French king, then weakened by age and illness, refused to undertake so weighty an enterprise; and thus the natural termination of the struggle between

the Pope and the people of the south, by which the crown of France alone profited, was not indeed prevented, but deferred for a few years and a new reign.

The early success of the crusade against the Albigenses seemed to place all the crowns of Europe at the disposal of the Pope. Innocent the Third was not a pontiff likely to allow such power to slumber in his hands. He undertook to dethrone the Emperor Otho by raising up a rival; and John of England, in the midst of his other imprudences, having thought fit to brave the Pope's injunctions with respect to the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent forthwith excommunicated him, and made a present of England to Philip Augustus. This monarch was nothing loth to accept the present. John was not a very formidable enemy, as Philip had fully proved; and in the spring of 1213, the French king, in imitation of William the Conqueror, summoned his barons to Soissons, to decide upon and prepare for a descent upon England. The French barons were eager for the enterprise and the spoil. The only recalcitrant was Ferrand or Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, who complained that he had been unjustly despoiled of St. Omer and Aire, and demanded their restitution. Ferrand owed the county of Flanders to Philip Augustus, who had given him in marriage Jeanne, daughter of Baldwin, and heiress of the county. The French court certainly chose the moment of the marriage to seize St. Omer; but Philip Augustus had some claim to it by right of his first wife, daughter of the Count of Flanders.

A French fleet and army assembled at Rouen, whilst John mustered 60,000 English upon Barham Downs, who, "had they had one heart and one soul," says Matthew Paris, "there was no prince under heaven that England might not have defied." John, however, had no soul wherewith to inspire an English army. He mistrusted his nobles, and was terrified by a prophecy to the effect

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that he should soon cease to be king. Whilst under the influence of this terror, a papal legate landed on the coast of Kent, and John, to propitiate him and ward off French invasion, made over himself and his realm as liege to the Pope. It remained for the legate, fully satisfied by this submission, to pacify the King of France: the latter complained that he had spent 60,000 livres in preparing the expedition. And Matthew Paris says he would have paid little attention to the injunctions of the legate, had he not been enraged against the Count of Flanders, and resolved to punish him. He brought his army forthwith to Boulogne, and there embarked for Gravelines, from whence he ordered his fleet to Dam, and led his troops to the reduction of Bruges and Ghent. Whilst thus engaged, an English fleet, under the Count of Boulogne and the Earl of Salisbury, assailed the French fleet at Dam, and destroyed it, to the number of upwards of a thousand of different kinds of craft. This disheartened Philip. He contented himself with taking away hostages from the several towns, as a guarantee for the payment of a certain sum, and then withdrew, keeping garrisons merely in Douai, Cassel, and Lille. The two last were recaptured by the Count of Flanders.

The King of France had deferred, not abandoned, his project of landing in England. His invasion of Flanders had alarmed the nobles of that region, especially the Duke of Brabant, father-in-law of the Emperor Otho. All had recourse to the emperor, who saw in Philip Augustus the most dangerous of his foes. The imperial crown of Germany was then disputed between Otho and young Frederic the Second, who had come from Sicily to claim the heritage of the Hohenstauffen, and one of whose first acts had been to apply for, and receive an assurance of, French aid. Frederic, at the close of 1211, had met Prince Louis, son of the French king, at Vaucouleurs, and had received from him

20,000 marks to enable him to hold his ground in Germany; Otho received a similar sum from King John; and thus was the quarrel of France and England mingled up with that of the competitors for the imperial dignity. The Emperor Otho, therefore, thought that, in striking a blow at Philip Augustus, he would not only save the Dukes of Brabant and Flanders, as well as his menaced relative of England, but would deprive Frederic of one of the allies he most depended on. The emperor, therefore, agreed to take the command of the army which the nobles of the Low Countries were to form, and lead it against France.

The French King on his side prepared to meet the storm. He despatched his son Louis with an ample force to oppose John, who had landed at La Rochelle, and advanced to Angers. The king himself mustered the forces of the *communes* or towns in the north of his dominions, and with these principally, prepared to resist the attack of the German Emperor. One is surprised to find in this war between feudal France and civic Flanders, the King of France at the head of an army principally composed of townsfolk, who distinguished themselves by valour in his behalf, whilst in the army which the German Emperor led for the defence of Flanders, the force seems to have been chiefly feudal, none but the citizens of Bruges being mentioned as present, and they being remarked solely for having been the first to retreat. Some of the magistrates of Ghent and Bruges even marched with the King of France, as did the militia of Amiens, who had once so strenuously opposed him. In fact Philip Augustus, as his reign advanced, had made himself the patron of municipal liberties and of the middle classes, and he was not zealously opposed by those even in Flanders, whose Count Fernando, a Portuguese, was probably ignorant or reckless of the means of propitiating them.

In the month of July, 1214, the Emperor Otho mus-

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tered his army at Valenciennes. Lord Salisbury had brought what aid England could afford. The Count of Boulogne accompanied him, and Hugh de Boves, the inveterate enemy of Philip Augustus. The Dukes of Limburg, of Brabant, of Hainault, of Holland, led each his knights. The Duke of Burgundy, and the Count of St. Pol, the Viscount de Melun, were the principal barons on the side of the King of France. The armies met between Lille and Tournay, at a spot called Bovines, where a bridge passed a mill stream, not very distant from the future battle-field of Fontenoy. The first care of Philip Augustus was to have mass said. He showed some mistrust of his barons, which they repelled, especially the Count of St. Pol, who observed that he would show himself a "good traitor." St. Pol began the battle on the right, against the Flemish knights; and for several hours it was confined to these wings, ending by the defeat of the Flemings, and the capture of Ferrand, their count. Then the Imperialists advanced to attack the king, who was posted in the centre, and to protect whom the legion of the *communes* with the *oriflamme* flung themselves into the front. They were beaten back by the German knights, who reached the French king, and put him in imminent danger, some of the soldiers striving to drag him down with hooks. Philip Augustus was, however, valiantly defended; his men soon turned the tide, and placed Otho in the same danger from which Philip had been rescued. The people of Bruges were the first to fly, whilst the Brabançons fought to the last. Otho was obliged to retreat. The English made fierce resistance to the right; but they too were routed, and the Earl of Salisbury with the Count of Boulogne were made prisoners there, as Ferrand of Flanders had been in the other wing.

Nothing could be more complete than the victory of Bovines. The German Emperor was definitively

worsted. The alliance between him, the King of England, and the most powerful of the Flemish barons, had proved unable to make any impression upon France. The king's personal enemies, the Counts of Boulogne and Flanders, were in his power, and he conveyed them both finally to the dungeons of the Louvre. The popularity of Philip Augustus, moreover, was immense after the battle of Bovines. It was the first victory which the French felt and gloried in as a nation. With such an impulse and such advantages the king might have compassed any aim. Yet whether it was that age had benumbed his energies, or from some other cause, he reaped but small advantage from his triumph. He did not continue to push the war for the present against John, but granted him a truce, on his payment of a sum of money. And even Flanders he left to the government of the Countess Jeanne. The same moderation marked his policy as prompted him to reject the offer made at a later period, by Amaury de Montfort, to surrender to the crown of France his claims upon Languedoc.

Philip Augustus might indeed be well contented with what he had done for the monarchy. He received it bounded by the Epte, within a day's ride of Paris, and with merely disputed claims beyond the Loire. Touraine, Maine and Anjou, as well as Normandy, in the hands of a rival, left to France of the twelfth century but a subordinate portion of the country we now contemplate under the name. Philip Augustus, by means however unwarrantable, extended these same dominions to the ocean; whilst his policy, joined to the Pope's cruelty and greed, prepared the way for the adjunction of the whole south. At Bovines the hostility which threatened from the north was laid in the dust, and the whole of the coast acquired as far as Dunkirk. Whilst Artois, acquired earlier, was by that battle definitively secured.

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The resolve which Philip Augustus seemed to have taken towards the close of his reign, not to attempt new conquests or engage in new enterprises, wisely preferring to consolidate what he had acquired, was in a manner broken through by the offer of the English barons, in 1215, of the crown to his son Louis. The Pope, who had stopped the first French expedition to England, and turned it against Flanders, was still strenuous for making inviolate the right of the English crown. The question was discussed in the French parliament, and Philip Augustus, with his wisest counsellors, was evidently averse to Louis crossing the sea on such an expedition, which necessarily drew after it Papal excommunication. Louis himself would probably have abided by their decision. But his wife Blanche of Castille, who herself, as the niece of John, had some claim to England, and who was moreover a woman of spirit and of genius, urged her husband not to throw away such brilliant chances. And he accordingly persevered in his design, and accepted the offer of his English partisans.

Had Louis possessed the wisdom and moderation of his sire, and could he have pursued in England the policy of conciliating or trusting the nation, he might perhaps have succeeded. He became master of all the south, except the castle of Dover, which Hubert de Burgh stoutly defended. He was acknowledged sovereign of London, where John was hated, and where in consequence the French prince was popular. But it transpired that Louis regarded the turbulence of the English barons as criminal, and that did he ever acquire firm possession of the throne, he would punish and repress them. The Count de Melun, on his death-bed in London, is said to have revealed this to the English barons. The death of the odious John it was, however, that turned the tide of English popularity against Louis. His young son, Henry the Third, was not the accom-

plice of John's baseness and crime. The clergy, under the influence of the papal legate, and indeed all the north, took part for Henry. The French and the English barons, their allies, were engaged, under the Count de Perche, in the siege of the Castle of Lincoln, when they were attacked by the force of the Plantagenet Prince. In the battle that ensued, known by the name of the Fair of Lincoln, the French and their partisans were completely worsted (1221), and few escaped with tidings of the defeat to Louis, who was in London. The prince hastened to demand succour of his sire; and this care being entrusted to Blanche, she set about it with her wonted activity. The succours which she sent were however intercepted, and the troops dispersed. Henry the Third marched to London with an army beyond the means of the French to resist, and Louis was obliged to conclude a treaty with the legate at Staines, by which he agreed to evacuate England, acknowledge young Henry as king, and even try to persuade his father, Philip, to restore the conquests which he had made. The latter condition was, of course, illusory. The citizens of London made Louis a loan of 5000 livres, and he forthwith departed from the English shores.

The last years of the reign of Philip Augustus, after the retreat of his son Louis from England, were occupied by the unfortunate expedition of this prince against Marmande and Toulouse, and by an equally unsuccessful expedition of the crusaders to take Damietta in Egypt. The King of France himself took little part in these or in any events. His health, undermined by age and slow fever, gave way, and confined him to his palace. Religious interests alone seemed to inspire him, and he was anxious to attend in person a council, which the Church endeavoured to assemble for the sake of resuscitating a crusade against the indomitable Tou-

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louse. Ere it met, Philip Augustus had expired in July, 1223, at Mantes.

His will distributed the great wealth he had acquired, fifty thousand livres to make restitution to those whom he might have illegally despoiled, upwards of 300,000 to carry on the war in the Holy Land; 20,000 to the poor; and but 10,000 to his younger son, Philip, whom however he had invested with the county of Boulogne; 20,000 to De Montfort, the conqueror of Toulouse. When it is considered that a livre then was really a pound, somewhat more than a pound sterling, the wealth that Philip amassed was great for his age.

Philip Augustus was however no miser. None knew better the kingly use of money, not merely for purposes of war and conquest, but for the health, comfort, improvement, and education of his subjects. Looking from the windows of his palace, and struck by the fœtid odour from the mud of the streets, he forthwith ordered the pavement of the capital. When he departed for the Holy Land, he not only left those wise regulations for consulting the citizens in all affairs concerning them and the state, but he ordained that each town, including Paris, should be surrounded with walls and towers. He built the cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, at least the front and portal which exist, as well as the old Louvre, with its donjon, and the Hôtel Dieu. If he burned heretics, and allowed his barons to aid the Pope in crushing the people of Languedoc, he at the same time founded and patronised schools, and raised the university of Paris to rival that of Bologna. He freed students from purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by erecting them into a corporation, and allowing them to have a Syndic. In the schools were already taught, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Civil as well as the Canon Law: so that future kings readily found legists to guide them in the mitigation of the barbarism and injustice of feudalism. What Philip

Augustus did for the middle class has previously been described. And his laws were equally favourable to the emancipation and elevation of serfs, especially those of the royal domains. His genius was indeed that of an administrator and organiser, far more than of a commander or hero. Fortune, however, made him a conqueror of large countries, and victor in more than one battle, on which occasions he showed no lack of that courage and magnanimity which became the great monarch. Apt as one is to think meanly of Philip Augustus at the commencement of his reign, when placed in contrast with Cœur de Lion, or contemplated in the act of despoiling John, his faults disappear as the result of his policy becomes manifest in the greatness of his empire, and its progress not only in extent, but in the happiness, prosperity, and enlightenment of his subjects.

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LOUIS THE EIGHTH AND NINTH.

1223—1270.

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The death of Philip Augustus transferred the sceptre to the hands of Louis the Eighth, then six and thirty years of age, the son of Isabella of Hainault. As this princess was descended from Hermengarde, Countess of Namur, daughter of Charles of Lorraine, who, as the last Carlovingian, had disputed the crown with Hugh Capet, the new king might boast a descent from Charlemagne, the great hero of poesy and fable. Louis was accustomed to lead armies, not indeed with success, for his habit was to undertake enterprises too vast. To these, however, the ideas of the age and his father's success emboldened him. Whatever spirit too he might have wanted himself, was more than supplied by his queen, Blanche of Castille, of a temperament born for command, and of an intelligence which made her enter more fully than any of her French subjects and contemporaries into the policy and the aim of Philip Augustus, to make the ocean and the Mediterranean the boundaries of the monarchy. During the last years of the late king's reign Amaury de Montfort held his ground with great difficulty. A new crusade was impossible, as there were no new lands and countries to give, those who had won such in past campaigns being even unable to keep them. Barons and their retainers were not

to be tempted to an enterprise so unprofitable, and a war carried on with mercenaries required greater resources than Amaury commanded. The dying bequest of Philip Augustus enabled him to relieve Carcassonne; but to crush young Raymond of Toulouse, who had succeeded to his father, was evidently beyond his strength. Amaury de Montfort in consequence abandoned the south, promising the foes who allowed him to depart that he would do his utmost to reconcile young Raymond with France and with the Church. Thus had a twenty years' war, the massacre of thousands, the ruin and depopulation of a whole province, planned and perpetrated by the Romish Church, led, as yet, to no satisfactory or complete result. But the partisans of Rome in these regions, especially the legate, who had taken refuge in Marseilles, could not accept so signal, so shameful a defeat; and their champions, the De Montforts, having decidedly failed, it managed that Amaury should resign his claims into the hands of the young monarch of France, who undertook to prosecute the war against the house of Toulouse. Amaury was promised the office of constable, when it should become vacant by the death of Matthew Montmorency.

It happened that a Pope, far different from the fiery and implacable Innocent, occupied the Papal throne. Honorius the Third was far more animated against the Saracen foe than against heretical Christianity. He spent his life and reign in urging monarchs to postpone all other objects and enterprises to the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre. Honorius considered the question of Toulouse as altogether secondary; and the offer of the young Count Raymond to submit to all just claims of Rome mitigated the rigour of the Pontiff. His Holiness therefore refused to grant the indulgences of the crusade to those who should war against Toulouse. He refused to excommunicate the young count, or in fact assist Louis the Eighth in his designs. The French king ex-

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postulated angrily with the Pontiff, and reproached him with breaking the promises which he had held out by his legates. He spurned the recommendation to come to an agreement with the Count of Toulouse on matters of faith, and begged of the Pope to send no more messages to the court of France on the subject of the Albigenses, as he publicly discharged himself, and washed his hands, of the whole affair.

Baulked of his designs upon Toulouse, the French king turned his energy and his arms against Henry the Third of England, with whom the truce was on the point of expiration. The moment was opportune. The Earl of Chester was in arms and revolt, and the English king with difficulty made head against his barons. Louis therefore marched unopposed, in the summer of 1224, into Poitou, and laid siege to La Rochelle. It was gallantly defended, and timely succours despatched to it from England might have retained this important landing place for Henry. But the English king had no succour to send. The English themselves cared little for the loss of Poitou, from whence their monarchs brought over their hated continental favourites. The chief noble of the country, the Viscount of Thouars, concluded a truce with the French till the close of the year, when, if not succoured from England, he consented to transfer his allegiance to the crown of France. In good time La Rochelle surrendered. "And the English," says the biographer of Louis the Eighth, "after having been so long hidden in this last corner of Aquitaine, lost it, and were entirely driven out of France. The grandees of Limoges, of Perigord, and of Aquitaine, all except the Gascons dwelling beyond the Garonne, promised fidelity to King Louis, and kept it."

Meantime the Papal party in France were not idle. Honorius had gained nothing by the leniency shown to the family of Toulouse, except to indispose the court of France. And Rome began to see that the Emperor Frederic the Second, on whose friendship and support

it had so much depended, was likely to prove an inveterate as well as formidable foe. It thus became the policy of Rome to conciliate the French king, rely upon him, and extend his power. A council was in consequence convened at Bourges, in 1225, in which the respective rights of Raymond and De Montfort were pretended to be discussed. Sentence was of course given by the Church against Raymond. He was excommunicated anew, his adherents declared heretics, and the King of France received the mission to lead the new crusade against them, in lieu of Amaury de Montfort, to whom was given the post of constable.

In the spring of the following year Louis assembled his crusading army at Bourges, and proceeded by Nevers and Lyons. Matthew Paris states the number of the horse at 50,000, that of the foot as incalculable. The whole country bowed before such a host, until the citizens of Avignon objected to its passing through their city. They offered the passage of the Rhone over a temporary bridge, as well as supplies of all kinds; but entrance into their walls they refused. Louis replied by instantly commencing the siege. He erected his machines, and the town followed his example. The capture of a city so vast and so well fortified was soon found to be no easy task. Although all the other towns of Provence and Languedoc sent in their submission, Raymond still kept the field and cut off supplies. To find fodder for 50,000 horses in such a position was impossible, and the camp of Louis soon became a hospital and a pest house. The Count of St. Pol was slain; the Bishop of Limoges died; and Thibaud, Count of Champagne, a troubadour and a poet, whom one is surprised to find in the ranks of the crusaders against Toulouse, left the siege, in despite of the positive orders of the king. It lasted three months; but if the besiegers suffered severely, the townsfolk were not less straitened. They surrendered "on certain con-

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ditions," says Puy Laurens. Their fortifications were destroyed, but the lives and apparently the liberties of the city were respected. The surrender was timely, for a few days after it the Durance swelled its banks, and inundated the spot on which the king had placed his camp. The three months' resistance of Avignon was not without results favourable to the cause of the south. The reduction of Toulouse was not attempted by the king. The monarch himself was suffering from the pestilence which ravaged his camp at Avignon, and on his return northward he was obliged to stop, from weakness, at Montpellier, where he died soon after on All Saints' day, 1226.

By his will Louis the Eighth left all the land of Arras (Artois), which he derived from his mother, to his second son Robert; the counties of Anjou and Maine to his third son Charles; Poiton and Auvergne to Alphonso. Not wishing further to dismember the monarchy, the will specified that any future sons should be ordained ecclesiastics.

The royal testament made no mention of Languedoc, of which the conquest was as yet incomplete. But notwithstanding the resistance of Avignon and the death of the king, the region was virtually subdued. The authority of the Pope was at last established on the ruins of the freedom, the intellect, and the civilisation of the south. Rome, indeed, had attained the plenitude of power. It gave away kingdoms, and disposed of populations as if they were, not metaphorically but actually, its flocks. But this was done more by indulging the greed and flattering the animosity of certain classes, than by wisely directing their zeal or commanding their adhesion. The pontiffs were laying the foundations of no permanent power, nor were they pursuing any high or intelligible aim.

In Italy they roused and armed the civic classes against the emperor. In France they induced the aris-

tocracy, and at last the sovereign, of the North to subjugate the chiefly civic population of the South. Whilst thus mainly contributing to the extension and absolutism of the French monarchy, they were undermining that of the German, and perpetuating anarchy in Italy; for although pretending to favour the democratic principle, they strenuously opposed its development and organisation, and brought exile and ruin on almost every eminent man and family of that country. But no portion of Papal policy is so nefarious or revolting as its treatment of the unfortunate Albigenses. The spirit of hate and vengeance which animated Rome throughout this struggle would in vain be sought in the Bible, but may be traced in that great poem, which so powerfully reflects its age, the *Inferno* of Dante.

That so great and so mundane a power should have been misapplied, absorbed, and lost in greed, arrogance, and vulgar passions, might have been expected; but at least some good might at the same time have been hoped, and those of its designs and of its pontiffs, which were noble and disinterested, might have produced some successful and beneficial results. The crusades against the East, where, as in Europe, barbarism was doomed to triumph over and tread out every race that attempted civilisation, were originally noble designs. They failed often through the ignorant and capricious guidance, the interested and vacillating purposes, of Rome. Towards the close of the reign of Philip Augustus an expedition, planned and impelled by a thoroughly zealous Pope, sent thousands of gallant and noble crusaders to perish by an overflow of the Nile, in utter ignorance of the geography or physical condition of the country they invaded. If such a guidance of the united zeal of Europe was merely imbecile, how shall we characterise the guilt of turning the zeal, fanaticism, and courage of the crusaders, with the promise of Heaven's favour and pardon, against the Count of Toulouse, the Emperor of

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Germany, or the King of England? Such a betrayal of humanity, such a perversion of every Christian principle, desecrated the Popedom, and precluded every reasoning mind from considering it as the interpreter of the wisdom or the dispenser of the favours of the Divine Being.

At the same time it must be confessed, that this disgust of the Papal authority and dissent towards its doctrines, neither issued from the classes, nor assumed the shape, calculated to erect a barrier against the evils of sacerdotalism. Dissent sprung up among the upper ranks, amongst the crusaders who had conversed with enlightened Saracens, and who found their religious reasoning quite as sensible and plausible as those of the monks and doctors at home. These free thinkers had neither the sincerity nor the zeal to preach and practise their opinions, but communicated them one to another, expressed them in jokes and in verse, and in some cases formed secret societies, in which they might indulge safely in the contempt of the only taught religion. But they either saw the uselessness or wanted the courage to appeal to a public as yet so ill-informed and unfit to embrace a creed founded upon, and compatible with, common sense and reason. In the beautiful and rich Languedoc, these opinions of the upper class filtered gradually down to the middle and lower strata of society, till the whole region became infidel to Rome. But even then, although the passive zeal to die bravely was not wanting to the Protestant martyr, the ardent enthusiasm that organises and animates resistance did not exist. And the creed of the Albigenses, with the poetry of the troubadours, were both drowned in blood. It is remarkable that in the course of that war, throughout the resistance of the Toulousans and of Provence, there did not arise a hero or a great character in the cause of the reformers. The Counts of Toulouse themselves, the Viscount of Beziers, and other chiefs, all showed a want

of resolution, a mistrust of themselves and of their people, which was ruinous to their cause, and which greatly diminishes our sympathy for them. Whilst on the side of the Church stood forth such a character as De Montfort, forbidding, no doubt, by its cruelty and fanaticism, but still displaying that whole-souled enthusiasm, that indomitable energy, that devotion to a principle, which commands our respect by its gloomy grandeur, however unjust its aim, and however execrable and immoral its means of accomplishing it. Nor does Simon de Montfort stand alone as an eminent man, fitly selected and employed by Rome in its cause. There were St. Dominick and St. Francis, types of missionary genius, the one destined to crush and extinguish the kindling intellect of the middle class, the other intended to captivate the awakening sense of the humble and the poor. Wherever, indeed, there was a breach in the fortified edifice of the Romish Church, it forthwith found a man to fill it, so as to repel any attack, and crush every enemy.

But in these efforts of the Church it should not be forgotten that it perverted every principle of morality. Its vaunted breach of faith to heretics; its deceit in luring prince and people to surrender on conditions, instantly broken; its habit of suborning son to rise against father and one member of a family to betray the other; its interested interference with marriages, not to enforce chastity, but to gratify its rapacity and exercise its own power; its excommunication and dethronement of princes and monarchs, and excitement of civil and internecine war, often for no cause beyond the personal caprice or dislikes of the popes, threatened not only the political and social state of Europe with destruction, but went to efface and destroy every moral principle and feeling.

To political progress it was of course a more decided enemy, for the Popedom could tolerate no power save

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its own or an auxiliary to it. The establishment of aught like an organised political society in Italy, Germany, the south of France, or any country subject to Papal influence, became utterly impossible; for the churchmen were everywhere, and struck down everything, whether institutions or authority, that did not bow to spiritual supremacy. The English escaped by their determination and their distance. The French kings had been pets and *protégés* of the popes, who never attacked one of them with systematic or continued hatred. They were in general the instruments of the Holy See, strengthening themselves and extending their empire mainly by the support of the priesthood. But, as we have before said, the French monarchy rose in a kind of imitation, and afterwards of rivalry, to Rome, that greatly enhanced the power of the crown, and had, if we mistake not, a fatal influence in checking the formation and growth of those free institutions which the English were fortunate enough to develope and to preserve.

The political and social influence of the popes were, however, of still remote result. At the time we speak of the danger was that the cruelty, the tyranny, the immorality of the only acknowledged chief of religion would disgust the world with the creed itself which it pretended to respect as well as to interpret. It was at such a time that there succeeded to the throne of France a prince as deeply and devoutly religious as any fanatic of persecution or crusade, and yet entertaining moral sentiments of scrupulous delicacy and uprightness. Though practising the asceticism of a monk, he still distinguished between the interests of religion and those of the clergy; and that as a politician he could rise above the prejudices of the devotee, is fully evinced in that argument of his recorded by Joinville, proving how much superior a *prudhomme*, or honest man of the world, was to a *beguin*, or monk, however saintly.

Though born to the throne and ascending it at a period when right was utterly disregarded and when religion was easily wrested to sanction the worst of causes, Louis the Ninth rose above such vile principles of state-and-church craft. Reviving for his own reverence and guidance the ideas of the christian and the knight, he realised in life and act the perfection and nobleness of both. It so happened, indeed, that conquest was not required in his reign. His grandsire, sire, and mother had grasped as much as wisdom and care could retain and organise. The more difficult and beneficent duty St. Louis undertook, of being the legislator of the vast kingdom which had so suddenly sprung up. His laws were, for the most part, opportune and wisely purposed. But still, the noble character, the great example of both political and christian virtues which St. Louis displayed upon the throne, did more to strengthen and sanctify the monarchy, and root it in the minds and respect of men, than any act or series of legislation. A sense of feudal superiority had hitherto "hedged in" the King of France. Feudal ideas were now destined to die away, and no one contributed more than St. Louis to introduce totally different principles. But the French monarchy soon found other than a feudal basis, and it owed its sacro-sanctity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in no small degree to the impeccable virtues of the good and saintly king.

Louis the Ninth was but a boy of twelve at the time of his father's death. The question of who should be regent was the first to be solved. Blanche of Castille, the young king's mother, claimed the authority, and she was supported by the cardinal legate, who disposed of the power of the Church, and was the soul of the Southern war. Blanche could also rely upon Thibaud, Count of Champague. This noble troubadour had made Blanche the lady of his thoughts and the muse of his verse, addressing to her that devotion which Dante,

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and perhaps Petrarch, paid to ideal excellence and beauty. The age did not or would not believe in the Platonism of Thibaud's attachment. But Thibaud and his county of Champagne, like the Raymonds and their county of Toulouse, were enlightened and educated, and the citizens and trading class had risen to a par with the noblesse. For these reasons both were hated by the rude feudal chiefs. When Blanche published a letter of two bishops, who had been in attendance on Louis the Eighth, attesting that he had appointed Blanche regent; and when by virtue of such authority she summoned the barons to be present at the young king's coronation at Rheims, there was but scant attendance. The Counts of Brittany and St. Pol refused to come, accompanying their refusal by the demand that the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, detained in prison, might be released, and no noble or prince be deprived of his dignity and lands without judgment of his peers.

Blanche had for the moment secured the adherence of him who had most pretensions to be her rival. This was Philip, the brother of the late king and son of Philip Augustus by Marie of Meran. He had been given the daughter of Renand Count of Boulogne, who was kept in prison, whilst Philip enjoyed the county. Philip, however, was one of those who hated the Count of Champagne, and when the latter came to Rheims for the coronation, Philip made the soldiers of the *commune*, who kept guard, close the gates against him. Such a slight incensed the poet-count, who flung himself consequently into the league of the barons. The head of this league was Peter of Dreux, Count of Brittany, who had cultivated study as much as Thibaud, and who had derived from it such a dislike to priests, that they in revenge gave him the name of *Mauclerc*. The Poitevins too joined the league, apparently in regret of the English connexion. Under Henry the Third the Poitevins not only enjoyed high power in England, but of course

governed Poitou. Whereas Louis the Eighth established his provosts in La Rochelle and all the chief towns, greatly to the diminution of local privileges and independence. The Count de la Marche was also of the league. He had taken back Isabel, who had quitted him to become the wife of King John, and who brought with her the county of Augoulême. And through Isabel's influence Henry the Third came forward and promised aid to the French barons. CHAP. VI.

Blanche employed the means of repression at the disposal of the crown. She released Ferdinand of Flanders; and having thus secured tranquillity on the frontier of the north, she summoned the military vassals of the kingdom to meet at Tours in the spring of 1227. The malcontents had also appointed their place of muster. But Thibaud of Champagne, although he set out towards it, found reason to change his mind, and he forthwith proceeded to lay himself at the feet of Louis and the Queen-mother, to do them homage. This defection did not prevent the barons of the west from standing their ground; and when they did retreat, it was in consequence of many concessions made to them. John, a younger brother of the king, was betrothed to Yolande, a daughter of the Count of Brittany. By the will of Louis the Eighth, the Prince John was to have Anjou and Maine for his apanage, and until the marriage it was conceded that Peter Mauclerc should have possession of Angers, and even of Le Mans in certain contingencies. To the Count De la Marche, at the same time, was given a large pension, and the Prince Alphonso was affianced to his daughter Isabella. It was thus not without sacrifices that Blanche allayed the first league of the barons of the west against her.

This reconciliation was as short-lived as insincere. In gaining Thibaud, Blanche lost the support of Philip Hurepel, the king's uncle, who hated the Count of Champagne. The barons made Hurepel their chief,

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and sent to make large demands for him of the queen. She refused "to dismember the kingdom of France." On which they assembled at Corbeil, resolved to intercept the Court as it returned from the south to Paris. It had reached Montlhery. "The sainted king told me," writes De Joinville, "that, on this occasion, they dared not go on to Paris until the inhabitants came with a large force of armed men, and in such numbers, that the road was filled with them. They besought the Lord to grant the king long life, and prosperity, and protection against his enemies." These few words principally depict the different feelings of nobles and citizens towards the crown.

The marriage of Yolande of Brittany with the king's brother John was broken off, not only by the turbulence of Mauclerc, but by the death of Prince John. The Duke of Brittany, therefore, offered her in marriage to Thibaud of Champagne, in order to gain him from the Court. Thibaud allowed himself to be won by such an offer, and day and place were fixed for the marriage. It was then that the count received the famous letter from the young king, evidently dictated by Blanche, requiring Thibaud, "for the dearness he bore all he loved in France," not to complete this marriage. No sooner did Thibaud read the letter than he withdrew and broke off with Mauclerc and his daughter Yolande.*

This second betrayal of their cause angered Mauclerc, and apparently all the baronage of the kingdom, who declared war against the Count of Champagne, his neighbours, the Seigneurs of Coucy and of Chatillon, being the most eager to attack. The feudal chiefs of Central France seemed, indeed, for some cause unexplained in history, to be deeply discontented with the rule of Blanche, who apparently neither consulted the nobles nor respected their feudal privileges; and yet they shrunk from openly resisting or attacking

* Yolande was afterwards married to Hughes Count De la Marche.

the young king. There ensued, in consequence, a succession of bootless and resultless expeditions, in which neither party struck a serious blow, or even employed the means for prosecuting war with vigour. Philip Augustus had fully proved how useless were feudal levies for military purposes, unless they were animated by the indulgences, the plunder, and the licence of a domestic crusade. The French government had resources, and might have paid an army of *routiers*, or mercenaries; but the Church objected to such modes of warfare, and Blanche had not recourse to them.* Yet her feudal armies never helped her to aught. They served their forty days, and then, in general, abandoned the royal standard to fling themselves upon the lands of Champagne and ravage them in hatred of its count. On one occasion, Blanche and the king found themselves almost in the power of the Count of Brittany, by the desertion or paucity of their feudal supporters. From such a disgrace they were seasonably rescued by the appearance of Thibaud of Champagne with an efficient force. Blanche instantly employed it to reduce the strong castle of Bellesme, which had been ceded as part of Anjou to Mauclerc by the treaty of Vendôme. This seemed Blanche's only act of vigour. But, on the other hand, the barons showed even less generalship or boldness against the Court. Notwithstanding the powerful aid of England, and the frequent weakness of the king's forces, the leagued nobles never ventured to attack them; and when the monarch summoned them to his presence, they replied more often in submissive than defiant language. The truth is, that the French barons were merely imitating the resistance of the English noblesse, without the precise, intelligent aims, the strong and clear determination, shown by the chiefs of the insular aristocracy.

* The only mention of *routiers* in her time was when they were employed as police to keep down the students of Paris.

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There was one mode, in which this insurrection of the French barons against the crown and central government might have been rendered formidable and irresistible. This was, to have entered into alliance with Raymond of Toulouse and the persecuted population of Languedoc. Such a league, supported by England, the royal family of which was closely related to Raymond and anxious to aid him, would have united the south and west of France against young Louis; and Henry the Third might in the movement have recovered the old dominions of his family, which, not excepting Normandy, had become disaffected to Blanche. One might have expected that a talented priest-hater like Peter Mauclerc would conceive and accomplish such a league. But the mainspring of the movement must have been an English prince of spirit, prudence, and consistency. Henry had none of these qualities. Like all the princes of the day, he was prostrated before the Church and the Papal agents, who governed France and England at this time, and who supported the monarch and the regent.

In the use or even display of military force, nothing could be more feeble than the court of France during the minority of Louis. And yet in the midst of this feebleness, that court made one of the greatest acquisitions or conquests, which Philip Augustus dared not attempt, and which his son had failed to complete. The Church, however, was all in all, and it alone maintained the war against Raymond the Seventh and the Toulousans. It was no longer counts and dukes who led their warriors into Languedoc, but the bishops of the neighbouring provinces, who marched their retainers to devastation and to massacre. Many of these bishops had indeed taken possession of castles and counties, by the approbation of the Pope, and turned their resources and their population into soldiers and executioners against the heretics. Raymond is said by Matthew Paris to have retaliated with equal cruelty

upon the French, but this is not corroborated by any French historian. In 1228 the military prelates who warred against Raymond, invented a new mode of reducing him. The Archbishop of Auch and Bordeaux, with bishops for military lieutenants, gathered an army round the stubborn city after midsummer, and began a systematic plan of destruction, cutting down vines and fruit-trees, destroying houses and enclosures, and spreading such wide devastation, that for miles the fertile territory of Toulouse was converted into a desert. This species of campaign the prelates facetiously termed the *taille.* CHAP. VI

The spirits of the Toulousans were more effectually broken by this than by any mode of warfare, and the count at length made overtures to the court of France. It seems to have been Thibaud of Champagne, his relative, who advised him to this step, representing, no doubt, that the new king of France alone could protect Languedoc against the fury of the Roman clergy. In appealing to the court of France, however, the unfortunate count merely appealed to Rome itself, for the legate was all powerful in Paris; and he dictated the most severe terms, possibly in the hopes that Raymond would reject them, and that Languedoc might be more fully humbled under the feet of Rome. Raymond, however, had made up his mind to complete submission, and a treaty was concluded at Easter 1229.

By the terms of it, Raymond was to give his daughter, Jeanne, in marriage to one of the king's brothers, who by right of this was to inherit the county of Toulouse, to be, however, enjoyed during his life by Raymond. If the count had any other children, they were cut off from this inheritance, which was to lapse to the French crown. Together with Toulouse, Raymond was to keep possession of Agen, Cahors, and all of Albi beyond the Tarn, which were to descend to any future issue. All the count's claims and territories beyond the Rhone he

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ceded to the Church.* The fortifications of Toulouse and of the other towns were to be demolished, the castle of that capital was to be garrisoned by the king; finally, the count was to permit the extermination of heretics in his dominions, and himself to assume the cross and depart for the Holy Land. At the price of such concessions Raymond was reconciled to the Church, though he was to remain prisoner in the Louvre until the fortresses were given up. "It was a pity," says Puy Laurens, "to see so great a man, who for so long had resisted so many and such great nations, led naked to the altar, in his shirt, his arms and feet bare." The king in restoring Raymond to the county of Toulouse for life, gave that part of the province of Albi, which he had retained, to Philip de Montfort, who took the title of Count of Castres.

This complete triumph of the Roman Church and churchmen over Toulouse, at the same time that they were uncontrolled masters of the court of France, encouraged them to erect an imperishable monument of their sense of justice, morality, and Christian charity. Bishops and doctors, and the court of France at their instigation, promulgated a series of laws, canons and directions for the discovery and extermination of heretics, which far surpasses in atrocity, in deceit, in immorality and sanguinary cruelty, any code of laws that ever was ordained or acted upon even by the most ruthless and barbarous pagans. This monument of Latin Christianity in the thirteenth century is known as the Holy Inquisition, at the head of which were the monks of the order of St. Dominick. These deputed three or four ecclesiastics to proceed to each district, and to make inquiry into the lives of such of the inhabitants as were or had been suspected of heresy. Testimony to this effect was to be collected, but the names of the wit-

* This was the origin of the Papal sovereignty of Avignon.

nesses, as well as their depositions, were carefully concealed from the victims. These were committed to prison, and directions were drawn up for their treatment, so infamous as almost to defy belief. Every means that the most cunning treachery could suggest, and the most unscrupulous falsehood allow, were employed to entrap the accused into confession. At one time they were menaced with death, at another promised pardon. They were in turns cajoled and threatened, encouraged and intimidated, and deprived of nourishment, in order to make physical weakness lead to moral prostration. Confessions against themselves, their pastors, and their eminent men, were to be elicited from them by successive and scientific torture. Even when they had abjured errors, they were to be tricked into some expression of lingering attachment to them, and they were then immediately condemned to the flames. Those who, at sight of the flames or in fear of death, recanted, were consigned to perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition. There was not a decree, a judgment, or an atrocity committed by the ignorant revolutionists of 1792, which had not been anticipated by the clergy of 1230, in Languedoc. Whoever concealed a heretic, was condemned to loss of life and property. Whoever did not confess and receive the Sacrament from a Romish priest once in three months, was declared suspect, which meant condemned to death. And to crown this worthy code of the Jacobin clergy, the Bible, with the Old and New Testament, was proscribed —an act certainly as prudent as consistent; for who could read a single chapter of the life and acts of Christ, without being struck by the utter contrast between these and the acts of the Church which professed to preach and to follow his precepts?

The victorious portion of France, and that class of the northern population, the feudal nobles, who aided the Church to impose their rule of terror over the

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south, suffered severely for their reckless oppression. For it was in a great measure the conquest of the south by the Crown and Church, that enabled the king to set at nought all the rights of the noblesse, and destroy not merely seignorial privileges, but independence. The French courts of law too, which, amidst the rudeness of feudal times, were conducted upon oral evidence, and with public procedure, were soon reduced to the adoption of that ecclesiastic habit of written and secret testimony, first established in the case of the Albigenses. "Of old," says Montesquieu, "criminal trials were public. Later, the forms of secret procedure were introduced. All was public, but all grew to be hidden — the interrogations, the informations, the *recolement*, the conclusions of the public prosecutor. And this still remains the custom. The old public form of procedure suited the governments which maintained it; the secret system is but too well suited to the government of the day."*

The extension of the power of the French monarch over Languedoc rendered the discontent and resistance of the noblesse of the north less formidable. Still it continued, and in 1230 the Count of Brittany received the aid of an English army, headed by Henry the Third in person. The principal means of defeating this English invasion, as well as French rebellion by Blanche, were to bribe the most eminent and influential in the hostile camp. Thus in England she contrived to make Hubert de Burgh her friend; and the chronicles insist that it was done by bribery. Hubert, therefore, did his utmost to prevent Henry's sailing with an efficient force to Brittany, and both in England and on the Continent endeavoured to have the repeated offers of Poitevin, Angevin, and Norman barons to Henry rejected. Another important personage won by Blanche was the

* Esprit des Lois, livre 28. c. 34.

Count de la Marche, Hugh de Lusignan, who, on this occasion, instead of following the standard of the King and the Count of Brittany, remained amongst the lieges of France. Blanche by this means benumbed the activity of the allies; and Louis, placing himself at the head of an army to resist them, marched into Brittany and took a few insignificant places. The King of England remained quiet at Nantes, whilst the chiefs of his army, perceiving that neither the monarch nor Hubert de Burgh would hear of fighting, abandoned themselves to festivity. The war was terminated by the retreat of the English, and by a truce for three years concluded with the Count of Brittany. This truce is known by the name of St. Aubin, after the castle in which it was concluded. To pacify the east as well as west of France, it was necessary to induce Thibaud of Champagne to promise to proceed to the Holy Land with a hundred knights. Nothing less would satisfy his enemy, Philip of Boulogne, to whom the Duke of Burgundy and almost all the noblesse in this respect adhered. It was evident that the nobles attributed to the councils of Thibaud the very anti-feudal modes of government adopted by Blanche. On this occasion Louis and the queen-mother swore "that they would restore their rights to the nobles, and judge each according to established custom and claims."

The remaining years of the king's minority passed with few events. A quarrel of the court with the Archbishop of Rouen, with the municipalty of Beauvais, and University of Paris were the principal. In all these Louis, under the influence of his mother, vindicated the rights of the crown in a harsh, unscrupulous manner, very different from what became the rule of his conduct when he enjoyed full power and judgment. In this interval, too, Thibaud of Champagne succeeded to the kingdom of Navarre by the death of his uncle. The prospect of such a succession no doubt had rendered

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him more pliant to the demands of the French aristocracy. Philip Hurepel had excited a competitor even for Champagne, in the person of Alix, Queen of Cyprus. But Thibaud was delivered from Philip's enmity by his death. He made a compromise with Alix, and on departing to assume the crown of Navarre ceded the counties of Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Chateaudun to the crown of France, which thus made a valuable acquisition, whilst Thibaud was crowned King of Navarre in 1234.

As the king in 1236 approached the age of his majority, the queen-mother negotiated for him a marriage with Margaret, eldest of the four daughters of Raymond Berenger, Count or Marquis of Provence. The great recommendation doubtless was that this prince had no son, and that the marriage thus offered those chances of succession which the rulers of France knew so well to turn to its advantage. The destruction of the court of Toulouse had rendered that of Aix the capital of the south. It was the haunt of troubadours who celebrated the charms of the Countess Beatrice, daughter of Thomas of Savoy. Blanche demanded 10,000 marks dowry with the princess, and the fortress of Tarascon as a guarantee for the sum being paid. To these terms the Count of Provence acceded, and Louis espoused Margaret. Henry the Third of England, some time after, married another sister. Although Blanche negotiated and arranged this marriage, she was exceedingly jealous of the young queen's acquiring any political influence; and she even endeavoured to prevent the young spouses from being too much in each other's company. They were obliged to have recourse to stolen interviews to avoid her anger, and to make their attendants warn them of the queen-mother's coming, in order that they might not be surprised together.

Blanche, in thus monopolizing influence and retaining power, had no great aim to pursue. The continuation

of the policy of Philip Augustus had accomplished every thing that the crown at that time could demand or attempt. The English had been humbled, all their continental possessions with the exception of Guienne reduced, whilst the great noblesse of France, notwithstanding their repeated confederations and insurrections, had been unable either to weaken the crown, or dispute the power of Blanche. The heritage of Languedoc had been secured to the royal family, that of Provence opened. In investing his brother Robert with Artois, the king had made him espouse the daughter of the Duke of Brabant. From the Mediterranean to the Scheldt, the suzerainty of the French king was established and recognized. Louis the Ninth was thus in a position which none of his predecessors had enjoyed, to look abroad beyond the frontier of France, and engage in schemes of foreign policy or ambition. But the sole ambition of Louis was to be an honest, a just, and a Christian prince.

The uppermost thought with most princes at the time was to resist the progress of the infidel, to recover the conquests of the first crusaders in Syria, and defend their empire at Constantinople. A young sovereign, the Emperor Frederic the Second, had undertaken the chief of these enterprises, and had even to a certain degree succeeded. He had embarked for the Holy Land in 1228, and rescued Jerusalem from the Sultan of Egypt in the following year. But for this crusade and its results he was rewarded by Papal excommunication, and by all the hostility which the Church and churchmen could show him. The Popedom, which in the case of the Albigenses seemed inspired by demoniac vengeance, in that of Frederic was animated by the most childish jealousies, the most unaccountable caprice. It would not even accept Jerusalem restored to the Christians, unless the act was accomplished in precisely the way that the Pope dictated. The Pontiff raised against Frederic a foe and rival in his European dominions; no

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other than the king of Jerusalem; and Frederic was obliged to abandon the Holy Land and hurry home. The Pope sought to crush Frederic as the Count of Toulouse had been crushed, by an accusation of heresy, and by turning against him the current of a crusade. With this view he despatched a solemn embassy to the court of France, offering Sicily, and, according to some, the Empire, to Robert of Artois, brother of Louis. But the French monarchs had always been friendly with the Hohenstauffen. The king would not allow his brother to accept the gift. In order not to take upon himself the responsibility of refusal, he consulted his barons, who were unanimous in approving this resolve. According to Matthew Paris, the king objected, that however a general council might depose a prince, the Pope could not exercise such a power. It was added that "Frederic had faithfully combated for our Lord; facing perils by sea and land, — the Pope, showing no such attachment to religion, endeavouring, on the contrary, to supplant the imperial crusader during his absence. The Romans cared little how much blood was spilt by others, in being the instruments of their choler. But if by French help the Pope should triumph over Frederic, he would tread all princes under foot."

King Louis sent an embassy to Frederic to inquire into his catholicity. The Emperor asserted himself a most orthodox Catholic, and declared that he had incurred the enmity of the Pope, chiefly because he made war upon the people of Milan, whose city was the chief harbour and protector of heretical men and opinions.

While Rome was thus exerting its influence to embroil Christian princes, and prevent any succours reaching its co-religionists in Syria, the hordes of Genghis Khan had not only overrun the East itself, but had penetrated into Poland and Hungary. The German Emperor was the great, almost the only bulwark against them. Yet it was to crush him that Rome

laboured to raise a crusade. Neither the courts of France nor England were much moved by this invasion of the Tartars. An accord might at that time easily have been made between the Saracens and Christians against the Mogul, which would have secured to the pilgrim, at least, free entrance into Jerusalem. But the great reproach of Pope and Templar against Frederic was his having lent his support to such an alliance. A Saracen visited England and France, craving aid of the Christian against the Mogul. "Let the dogs devour each other," exclaimed the Bishop of Winchester; "we shall be the better able to go and massacre the survivors, and secure the whole world to the Catholic Church, there being then but one flock and one pastor." "Let the Tartars come," said King Louis to his mother; "we shall either send them to Tartarus, or they us to Heaven."

Meantime, numbers of crusaders took their departure from France, in the years 1239 and 1240. Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, returned thither with what forces he could muster. The King of Navarre, Peter Mauclerc of Brittany, who had given up that county to his nephew, the Duke of Burgundy, Amaury de Montfort, met at Lyons to proceed to the East. And they did so in despite of the dissuasion of the Pope. They found Syria a prey to anarchy, offering every facility for conquest; but the crusading force was in equal anarchy. Mauclerc having made a successful raid and plundered a convoy, the Duke of Burgundy and De Montfort would follow his example. They were outnumbered and beaten, Montfort and some sixty others taken, the Duke of Burgundy escaping. He abandoned the crusade altogether; the French likewise embarking and leaving their companions in captivity. They had scarcely gone, when Richard of Cornwall arrived, if not with great forces, at least with money. This he employed to ransom Amaury de Montfort and the other

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captives. Such was the result of an expedition, in which kings and so many eminent nobles took part. It was quite sufficient to indicate the decay of that spirit, and the paucity of those resources, which had rendered the first crusade successful.

Louis could scarcely have refrained from joining in an expedition so much after his heart, had not maternal influence been strong to dissuade him from such a design. And soon after, the smouldering embers of baronial discontent and domestic war broke into a flame. The king's attention had been drawn southward first by Raymond of Toulouse, who had once more appeared in arms and in hostility to Raymond Berenger, Marquis of Provence. The latter had taken part against the Emperor Frederic, who in revenge excited the Count of Toulouse to attack him. In addition to this, Roger Trencavel, son of the Viscount de Beziers, who had perished in the hands of De Montfort, re-appeared to claim not only Beziers, but to dispute Carcassonne. Louis sent John of Beauvais with 700 knights and other forces against Trencavel, and thus put a stop to any ambitious designs of the Counts of Languedoc. The Count of Toulouse, soon after having made peace with the Count of Provence, prepared to espouse his daughter Sancie. But both the Pope and the King of France threw obstacles in the way of the marriage, and Sancie was finally married to Richard of Cornwall, brother of the King of England.

After this success, and for the purpose of consolidating it, Louis resolved to invest his brother Alphonso, who was to succeed to the county of Toulouse by the right of his wife, with the dignity of Count of Poitou, and to give him at the same time the territories possessed by the crown in Auvergne. Alphonso was just twenty-one years of age (1240). And Louis summoned his barons to Saumur to attend the ceremony of his investiture and knighthood. Joinville has described the

magnificence of the feast. "At the king's table were seated the Count de Poitiers, whom he had knighted on the last St. John's day; the Count John de Dreux, who had lately received the same honour; the Count de la Marche, and the Count Peter of Brittany. At another table, before that of the king, on the side where the Count de Dreux was seated, the King of Navarre dined. He was most richly dressed in cloth of gold, in coat, mantle, girdle, clasp, and cap of fine gold, to whom I* was the carver. The Count of Artois served the king, St. Louis, and his brother. The Count de Soissons carved the meat. Sir Imbert de Beaujeu, who was afterwards Constable of France, the Sire de Coucy, and Sir Archibald de Bourbon were the guards of the king's table; and there were behind these barons, full thirty of their knights in cloth of silk, to serve under them. There were likewise behind these knights a great many ushers of arms, and of the apartments, bearing the arms of the Count of Poitiers. The king was dressed as magnificently as it was possible, but it would be tedious to enter into the particulars of his habiliments. I have heard several persons declare, that they never before saw at any feast so many surcoats and other dresses of cloth of gold as at this."

Discontent was rather excited than appeased by this kingly splendour. The partisans of England were offended, that the title of Count of Poitou should be chosen for Alphonso, when Richard of England already bore it. The Count de la Marche, after having partaken of the festivities of Saumur, withdrew from Poitiers, Louis and Alphonso having claimed his homage and submission for certain lordships which the count did not think himself bound to pay. He withdrew accordingly to Lusignan, summoned troops about him; and the king and his brother after the festival were obliged to shut themselves up in Poitiers for fifteen days, unable to face De la Marche. The king was at last obliged

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to seek an interview with the count and his haughty countess, Isabella, and to grant terms, which the French historians have thought it more dignified not to record.

Both parties separated, determined to appeal to arms. The Count de la Marche reckoned on the support of England. He also sought to conclude an alliance with the King of Aragon and the Count of Toulouse. But whatever these princes may have promised, they took no part in the ensuing war. De la Marche at Christmas, 1241, came to open rupture with Alphonso, defying him at Poitiers in full court, refusing his homage, and reproaching him with having wrested his county from Richard, whilst the latter was nobly combating in the Holy Land. The court of England used its utmost efforts to succour the Count de la Marche. Henry summoned a parliament, explained to it the conduct of the French king, and the aid which he had promised to the Poitevins. But the English barons were deaf to the king's demands; they complained that the monarch only seized such pretexts to extort money, and that he had already contrived successfully to collect considerable sums by the retention of episcopal revenues, and by numerous expedients. For their part, they advised the king to observe the truce with France, which if the French king broke, they would willingly come to the aid of their government. As to the Poitevins and the count, they merely wanted English money, which Englishmen were not inclined to supply.

About the same time the king summoned his nobles to meet him in Parliament at Chinon, at the Easter of 1242, to defend Poitou, and crush the Count de la Marche. Thither came the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Brittany, the Counts of Flanders, of Vendôme, of Nevers, of Soissons, and of Boulogne, the De Courtenays, and the De Coucys. There were 4000 knights, and 20,000 *sergents* and men at arms. To oppose such a force the King of England, utterly unsupported by his parlia-

ment, embarked with 300 knights and 30 tons of *esterlings**, with which he landed at the mouth of the Gironde. Such was the way in which the Plantagenets sought to recover their continental heritage from the Capets.

The Poitevins, fearing or unable to meet in the field the forces of Northern France, put in practice the same kind of warfare which the prelates had taught them in the reduction of Toulouse. They laid waste the whole country, fortified towns and passes, and troubled and even poisoned the wells. Louis nevertheless advanced and laid siege to Fontenay, which was defended by a son of the Count de la Marche. The king took it in a fortnight. His officers were for hanging the son of the count. But Louis said no—that as a son and a servant, he had done but his duty. Henry in the meantime had marched from Royan to Saintes, and from thence continued his route, to encamp in the meadows of Taillebourg. The Poitevins had swelled his number of knights to 1600, whilst his *esterlings* had recruited a certain number of foot. The Earl of Salisbury, the Count de la Marche, and his brother Richard were with Henry, who, on seeing the French, with a force far outnumbering his own, upon the other side of the river, reproached the Count de la Marche with deceiving him. But the latter threw all the blame of misrepresentation, if there had been any, upon his wife Isabella, mother of Henry.

There is a difference amongst the historians of the time how far the French had begun to cross the river when Richard of Cornwall, with a staff in lieu of a sword by way of a flag of truce, came to ask an interview with the French king. It was accorded him, and terminated in a truce until the next day. The English took advantage of the interval to retreat from Taillebourg. The French pursued them the next day to Saintes, the foragers and plunderers advancing to the gates of that

* From whence *pounds sterling* are derived.

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town. The Count de la Marche issued forth to repel them: the English were obliged to come to his support, and the action became general at the gates of Saintes, many persons being taken on both sides. But the troops of Louis were far the most numerous, and had the advantage. The result of the combat was the immediate submission of the Count de la Marche to Louis. As to Henry, thus deprived of the soldiers which swelled his army in return for his *esterlings*, he had nothing for it but flight, and he accordingly retired precipitately to Blaye, and from thence hastened to shut himself up in Bordeaux. The victorious army of Louis suffered much from the heat of the summer, and from the unhealthiness of the season in that part of the country which was the seat of war. Louis himself fell ill, and was unable to prosecute hostilities beyond the Garonne. Contented, therefore, with the reduction of Poitou, and of the strong castle of Mirabeau, which was the last to surrender, the French king concluded a five years' truce with the English, and allowed their chiefs to return to England by way of France. This permission they took advantage of, "suffering merely," says Matthew Paris, "from the raillery of the French as they passed."

Although Raymond of Toulouse had promised aid to De la Marche in the war, he was unable to furnish it. He was chiefly prevented by illness; but he at the same time gave signs of discontent, and of a determination to shake off the yoke which weighed upon him. This display of courage on his part encouraged the oppressed Albigenses to an act of vengeance. They surprised the chief Inquisitors Arnaud and Stephen, two monks, with the Archdeacon of Toulouse, and others, whilst engaged in the work of persecution at Avignonet, and put them to death. In former years this would have instantly produced a crusade, and the ruin of Raymond. But on this occasion it led to no result. Raymond, as soon as he learned the victory of St. Louis at Saintes, submitted;

and the French king, having secured the reversal of the county of Toulouse, showed no wish to repeat the harshness of past times. CHAP. VI.

In the years which immediately followed Louis' successes in Poitou, the good king first appears as a legislator. Since the commencement of his reign, the disaffection or turbulence of the noblesse had occupied his mother's care and excited his own anxiety. To put down such attempts with the sword would have satisfied a rude prince. Louis sought not merely to repress such turbulence, but prevent it, and remove the principal causes. He now summoned to him all those nobles who held fiefs from the English, as well as from the French crown; and he informed them that he could no longer suffer a double allegiance, which was a trap for treason, and an incessant occasion of war. However contrary to custom, the demand of Louis was so just, that no serious remonstrances were made; and as the English king followed the example, a line was drawn between French and English noblesse which had not till then existed, and which, as it strengthened the feeling of nationality on both sides, removed many of the petty occasions of inveteracy and war.

Another ordinance of this early period of Louis' reign is his promulgation and enforcement of what was called *quarantaine le roi*, directed against the right of private war. Great efforts had been made in Germany to restrain this organised anarchy. Frederic the Second at the Diet of Frankfort, in 1234, caused a law to be passed, forbidding any one to attack his enemy without giving him warning at least four days in advance. Louis ordained, that after a crime had been committed, no one should attempt to avenge it for forty days. By previous custom and law, the relations of the murdered or the injured man were obliged to take up his wrong, and avenge it even on the relatives of the criminal to the fourth degree. This was forbidden within forty

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days under a penalty of death. And it was subsequently provided that during that interval, the relations might apply to the lord of the district, or the *bailli*, who interposed the king's justice, and superseded the action of private vengeance, previously legalised by the law. In both ordinances St. Louis struck at feudalism, and the independent privileges of the barons. This was with no purpose of humbling the nobles as a class, but from a Christian motive, to prevent disorders, to proscribe vengeance and the endless effusion of blood.

In promulgating these important and beneficent laws, Louis never consulted his barons or summoned a parliament. He convoked those assemblies to demand their adhesion in any national resolves, such as a demand of the Pope, a war with England or Poitou; but in matters of legislation he felt bound to dispense with them. For in truth the legislative reforms of St. Louis being directed against the aristocracy, to have consulted them would have been to retard or defeat the royal purpose. This may excuse St. Louis, but strongly manifests the oversight of the French nobles, who seemed ignorant and careless of defending their rights, to which the aristocracy of all other countries showed themselves at the time most sensibly alive. The English, the Spanish, the German noblesse maintained their privileges in those days, whilst the French alone assisted thoughtlessly, or impassively, at the growth of absolute power.

Events turned the mind of Louis from the task best fitted to it, — the care and organisation of his own dominions. In 1244 news arrived of a fresh capture and sack of Jerusalem by the infidel, and at the same time of the flight of Pope Innocent from Rome, and of his taking refuge in France, full of rage and animosity against the emperor. The fall of Jerusalem was what most nearly touched and affected the heart of Louis. The Pope's coming was an embarrassment, by which,

nevertheless, Louis, however disinterested, contrived to profit.

The Holy Land, since the Emperor Frederic had been called from it by the hostility of the Pope, had been the scene of feud between Mohammedans as well as between Christians. The Sultans of Damascus and of Egypt fought for ascendancy. The knights Templars and knights Hospitallers struggled likewise for supremacy within the Christian territory. And their quarrel was connected with that which commenced in Germany and Italy, the Templars holding for the Pope and France, the Hospitallers for the German Emperor and England. One of these orders concluded a truce with the Sultan of Egypt, the other with the Sultan of Damascus, when the Egyptian called in to his aid the Khorasmins. This was a fierce tribe from the Caspian, driven from their homes by the great Tartar invasion; as they poured into Palestine, the Christians found themselves unable to defend Jerusalem, and therefore evacuated it with the three Grand Masters. The Khorasmins entered the city, and hoisted the cross upon the walls. This being seen by some of the reluctant fugitives, they returned in great numbers, and were all massacred by the barbarians. Angered by such cruel treachery, the Christian knights, though few in number, not more than 300 Templars and 200 Hospitallers, resolved to give battle to the barbarians. It took place near Gaza; the Christians were exterminated, and Jerusalem irretrievably lost.

About the same time the Emperor Frederic had repaired to Rome and offered every submission and concession that could induce the Pope to make peace, and allow the powers of Christendom to unite against the infidel. Innocent refused, but fled, having no force to oppose to Frederic. The Pontiff came to Lyons, for the purpose of flinging himself upon Louis, and craving him to enact the part of Charlemagne in

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freeing Italy from the enemy of Rome. But Louis could not forget the danger that menaced Palestine, and did not approve of the Pope's obstinacy in prosecuting a private quarrel to the destruction of the interests of Christendom.

Soon after, towards the close of 1246, Louis was taken dangerously ill of dysentery at Pontoise. "So bad was his state," writes de Joinville, "that I have heard one of the ladies who nursed him say, that thinking it was all over, she was going to cover his face with a cloth, but that another lady on the opposite side of the bed, (so God willed it) would not suffer his face to be covered, or buried as it were, declaring continually that he was alive. During the conversation of these ladies, our Lord worked upon him, and restored him to his speech. The good king desired them to bring him a crucifix, which was done; and when the good lady, his mother, heard that he had recovered his speech, she was in the utmost possible joy; but when she came and saw that he had put on the cross, she was panic-struck, and seemed as if she would rather have seen him dead."

A year elapsed ere the good king fully recovered his health. His thoughts, policy, and preparations were all turned towards the Holy Land. Nevertheless much time passed before he could set forth upon the expedition. Pope Innocent held a council at Lyons, in which he launched a fresh bull of excommunication against Frederic. Louis on his part held a parliament at Paris, where his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonso of Poitou, and Charles of Anjou, with numbers of the nobility, assumed the cross. Amongst them was the Lord de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, who has left in his memoirs an account of the ensuing crusade. At Christmas it was customary for the king to make a present of a cloak to each of his courtiers. They received the present at night on this occasion,

and did not discover till they had put them on, that a cross had been sewn upon each garment, which bound them to join the king in his military pilgrimage.

Louis had an interview at Cluny with the Pope, who tried to turn his thoughts from the crusade to Palestine, by urging him to accomplish the old scheme of Philip Augustus, in invading England, and dispossessing Henry the Third. Pope Innocent little knew the King of France, and indeed his policy was so capricious, so contrary to reason and to right, that it called forth remonstrance even from churchmen. An English cardinal is reported by Matthew Paris to have told Pope Innocent "that he was making enemies of all the world; that France was impoverished by Rome, and England so ill-used, that like the ass of Balaam she began to kick against the goad."

Instead of adopting Innocent's views upon England, Louis made proposals to Henry the Third to convert the existing truce into a lasting peace. As a similar proposal was afterwards made and accepted, we shall hereafter have occasion to note what the conditions were. However apparently fair, it is not surprising that Henry rejected concessions accompanied by a number of restrictions and exceptions, which rendered them inexecutable and unprofitable.

Henry had another grievance. The Marquis of Provence, Raymond Berenger, was advancing in age without a male heir. Of his daughters, one was Queen of France, the other Queen of England, the third the wife of Richard of Cornwall. The marquis's first project was to marry his remaining daughter, Beatrice, to Raymond of Toulouse, and bequeath Provence to her and to the issue of her marriage. It was the natural project of a southern anxious to maintain the old independence of that region. But such a project ran counter to the policy of the French court, already possessed of the reversal of Toulouse, and to that of Rome. Yet Pope Innocent

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had favoured the idea at first, angry with the lukewarmness of the French king, and perhaps not disinclined to make tardy reparation to the family of Toulouse. But however sincere and just might have been the views of Innocent in this respect, they were totally changed in his seven days' interview with the King of France at Cluny. It gives a high idea of the address of Louis, that he on that occasion gained all that he desired from the Church, giving in return nothing that the Pontiff sought. The Pope granted him a tenth from the clergy for his crusade, and promised to withhold the dispensation necessary for the marriage of Raymond; whilst Louis by no means consented to abet the Pope's hostility to the Emperor Frederic. Provence, however, was an imperial fief, and transferring its possessions and suzerainty to a French prince was to deal a blow to the German.

What Louis proposed was to allow the Marquis of Provence to bequeath his dominions to Beatrice, and then to secure the marriage of that heiress with his younger brother Charles, who was already endowed with Anjou. The marquis expired in 1245, leaving a will, in accordance with the French king's wishes, instituting Beatrice his heiress. Raymond, relying on the Pope and supported by the King of Aragon, advanced to claim his affianced bride. But Charles of Anjou of a sudden arrived with an army. The whole of Provence preferred the French to the Toulousan prince, foreseeing in the choice of the latter a war which would devastate the country; and the marriage of Charles of Anjou with the heiress of Provence was concluded.

This acquisition by a French prince of one of the most important imperial fiefs must have roused the ire of Frederic; but the emperor could not at that time engage in a quarrel with the King of France. Henry the Third complained that the sixteen fortresses which formed the dowry of his wife, Eleanor of Pro-

vence, were confiscated and lost by this marriage and by the French invasion. He laid the blame chiefly on his mother-in-law Beatrice. She had visited England some time previous, and had been received with great honours. But when she had opportunity to discover and judge of the weakness of the King of England and his brother Richard, Beatrice regretted aloud "the having given her *gars* (daughters) to such imbecile princes."

Another disputed succession that St. Louis decided about the time was that of Flanders and Hainault. Jeanne, who inherited these duchies, and who had given them to her husband, Thomas of Savoy, dying without heirs, they passed to her sister Margaret. The countess had first married Bouchard, Lord of Avesnes, by whom she had several children. But it appeared that Bouchard had taken deacons' orders before entering upon military service: this coming to the ears of the Pope, His Holiness declared that he must in consequence put away his wife. D'Avesnes having repaired to Rome, was reluctantly compelled to submit to the Pope's injunction. There is an affecting account of his return and meeting with his wife, who, till then, had remained ignorant of the papal sentence. Margaret afterwards married the Count of Dampierre, by whom she had also a family; and as the sons by each marriage claimed the heritage, the dispute was likely to terminate in civil war. Margaret, however, referred the decision of the cause to St. Louis; and he settled it with his usual sense of equity, paying no attention to the ecclesiastical nullification of the marriage with D'Avesnes. The king accorded Hainault to the issue of the first marriage, and Flanders to the second, which thus passed to the family of Dampierre.

In 1248 the king had almost completed his preparations for the crusade. Possessed as yet but of the right bank of the Rhone, there was no port on the Mediterranean deep and capacious enough to contain a fleet, or

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to be the place of naval communication with the Levant. He therefore founded the town of Aigues Mortes, *Dead Waters*, on one of the lakes towards the issue of the Rhone. In order to people it, he excepted it from the *taille*, and allowed it free municipal government.

Another preliminary to the crusade was to make amends to those wronged, and restitution of property unlawfully taken. The king appointed commissioners to inquire and restore whatever the crown or its officers had unjustly taken. Richard of Cornwall not inaptly seized the opportunity to demand the restoration of Normandy and the provinces taken from King John. Louis's conscience was sadly perplexed, but he at length declared that he could not restore those provinces against the wishes of his nobles and the advice of his mother. Several English joined Louis in his expedition: Simon de Montfort, and William Longue-Epée, Earl of Salisbury, amongst others. The Count of Toulouse also promised to accompany the King of France, as did the young Trencavel, Count of Beziers. A great many of the *faydits*, or dispossessed Albigenses, followed the example. And it is possible that these followers of St. Louis, entering into the order of the Templars, introduced amongst them those heretical opinions and doctrines for which the papal monks and soldiers were afterwards, like the Albigenses, massacred and burned.

In the summer of 1248, St. Louis, taking the national banner and at the same time his pilgrim's staff from the monks of St. Denis, began his journey on bare feet to the convent of St. Antoine, and from thence mounted on horseback. His mother, Blanche, remained to govern in his absence. His queen, Margaret, accompanied him, as did his three brothers. Louis flung off his courtly robes and furs, and would wear nothing but brown stuff and rabbit skin on his royal garments. At Lyons he met the Pope, who was as usual employed and absorbed in cursing the Emperor Frederic, and preaching a cru-

sade against him, rather than against the Saracens. The king, out of respect to the Count of Toulouse, who accompanied him, besought the Pope to allow the body of his father Raymond to be buried. But even this the Pontiff refused to grant.

Louis did not embark until August, and reached Cyprus, which was the place of rendezvous, in September. His brother crusaders and their forces, in different vessels, were slow to arrive; so that winter surprised them and kept them in Cyprus; nor was it till the following June that the king could sail to Egypt. The Sultan of that country was the most powerful of the Mussulman princes; it was he who had taken Jerusalem, and slain the Christians there, so that the Holy Land was considered to be best conquered in Egypt. Several of the Mussulman chiefs in Palestine sent embassies, and sought alliance; as did one of the great Tartar princes, affecting an inclination to Christianity. But little came of these overtures, and a fleet of nearly 2000 sail bore 3000 knights, and their still more numerous followers, to the shores of Egypt. There were not more than 6000 Saracens to oppose the landing, which took place without impediment, the king jumping almost the first into the water up to his shoulders. It happened that the Sultan of Egypt was seriously ill at the moment and at the point of death, which made his general, Fakreddin, retire in haste to Cairo, and abandon Damietta to the crusaders without resistance.

Here began the necessity for good generalship, for skilful and authoritative command. But the King of France, who in Paris knew so well how to reduce his barons to obedience, in camp could not command his soldiers. His chiefs gave themselves up to all kinds of licence and debauchery, Louis afterwards complaining that there were brothels kept by his followers within a stone's throw of his tent! To have marched on with the army, while the river Nile was yet low, would have

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been the wisest step. But the king resolved to await his brother Alphonso, who had been blown off by a tempest to one of the ports of Syria; and thus the army remained at Damietta till November. Peter of Brittany was then for proceeding to Alexandria; but the Count d'Artois insisted on marching to Cairo, "the best way to kill a snake being to aim at the head."

The crusaders accordingly marched forth from Damietta, and great was the consternation in Cairo. The Egyptians, however, took courage on perceiving the French advance very slowly. When obstructed by the current of the Nile, they set about piling up earth to make a causeway, and stopped to put together immense wooden towers to protect the work. These towers, or *chats chatels*, were not completed till Christmas; and they proved useless, the Saracens digging holes in front of the Christian mounds. The infidels, too, made use of Greek fire, flinging it several times in the night: it resembled "a huge tun, with a tail as long as a spear." When King Louis saw these fiery dragons coming upon his towers and his warriors, he shed tears, and prayed loudly to God "to preserve his people." The French, nevertheless, saw all their engines destroyed, and instead of forcing their way, were indebted for their final passage to a ford, the disclosure of which they purchased from a Bedouin. In the passage of this ford, the English and Templars were ordered to advance first, and to guard it, whilst the second and third divisions, under the Count d'Artois and the king, should be crossing. But this order was disobeyed by Robert d'Artois, who galloped off at once to engage the Saracen. The Templars expostulated, but the prince called them traitors, and they felt obliged to follow him in order to refute the reproach.

Robert d'Artois had, on a former occasion, insulted the English crusaders, especially William of the Long Sword, illegitimate son of King Henry. William had

signalised himself by many exploits which rendered certain of the French jealous of him, and Robert d'Artois particularly. On one occasion they robbed him of his legitimate spoil. William complained to the king, who did his utmost to protect him, and expostulated with his brother on his mean jealousy of the English. It was in vain, and the English were obliged to leave Louis' camp—William of the Long Sword saying he would not serve so weak a prince. On their withdrawing, the Count d'Artois exulted in seeing the army delivered of the people with tails.* William of the Long Sword, De Vere, and the other English crusaders, had rejoined St. Louis at his request, when he marched from Damietta: they were now as much stung as the Templars at the reproaches of the Count d'Artois; so that all vied with him in pursuing the Saracens immediately after crossing the Nile. The latter fled fast to the Egyptian camp, into which the crusaders rushed, killing all they met with, amongst others, the commander Fakreddin, who had emerged from a bath to mount on horseback. The French knights then charged along with the fugitives towards the town of Mansourah, into which they penetrated as far as the Sultan's palace, when the Bahairiz slaves† rushed forth from it, and compelled the Christian cavalry to retreat. Could the infantry and the rest of the crusading army have come up to the aid of the knights, the Mussulman historians admit that Mansourah would have been taken, and Egypt conquered. But as it was, the knights being compelled to retreat were assailed by showers of arrows, and a very great portion of them slain.

The king rode up to the rescue, when he was told

* The popular legend was, that the English had been furnished with tails immediately after, and in punishment for, the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket.

† The original of the Mamelukes, brought when young from the borders of the Caspian.

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that his brother of Artois was surrounded in a house of Mansourah, and hard pressed. The monarch sprang forward to go to succour his brother; but the number of enemies was too great, so that the king's troops were separated, and all had to fight their way to the river. Louis proved himself a valiant knight, and by his own efforts shook off or slew six of the enemy, who had beset him. His brother Robert of Artois was not so fortunate, but perished in Mansourah, as did his rival, William of Salisbury, Robert de Vere, and most of the English. Upwards of 200 Templars were slain, the Grand Master escaping with the loss of an eye, to perish some days later.

The king and his army took possession of the Saracen camp and remained there for three days, harassed especially at night. At the expiration of the three days the Egyptians again appeared in force, and were marshalled by their chief Bondocdar. Their light troops first commenced the attack with Greek fire, after which the horse charged. The Duke of Anjou's division was routed, when the king came to the rescue. Several of the French divisions consisted of dismounted knights, who were unable to hold together. The Count of Poitou, another of the king's brothers, being the only mounted man of his division, was taken prisoner, but was fortunately rescued by a charge which the butchers and sutlers of the camp suddenly made to save him.

This defensive battle, though bravely fought, completely paralysed the crusaders, and left them no strength to continue their march forwards. They remained stationary, whilst the bodies of the slain floated on the water, and infected the coast with their stench. The army had nothing to eat but the fish which fed on these carcases; and thus a pestilence was generated, which dried up the flesh and caused the gums to rot. To increase this distress the Egyptians intercepted their communications with Damietta; and thus compelled the king to commence his retreat by recrossing the river. Even this

was a work of difficulty, and showed the impossibility of the army's even fighting its way back to Damietta, thinned as it was in numbers and prostrated by sickness. The French therefore tried to treat: their offer was to surrender Damietta in exchange for Jerusalem, and withdraw from Egypt. The Saracens seemed not to decline these terms, but demanded the king's person as hostage, to which the nobles would not consent, offering to give the princes, his sons. These not being accepted as substitutes, the French recommenced the retreat, some in boats by the river, some by land. The king, suffering extremely from illness, refused to proceed in a boat or cease to share the perils of the greater part of his army. But he had not gone a day's journey when his attendants were obliged to lift him from his horse and lay him on the lap of a woman of the army, as they thought, to die. The Saracens at the same time rushed into the village, and cries were heard ordering the knights to cease defence or they would cause the king to be killed. The monarch, his brothers, and the surviving chiefs accordingly surrendered. The victors slew the wounded, as well as most persons of inferior rank, many—some of the men of Joinville amongst others—embracing Mohammedanism to escape death,—a sad result of the crusade. There were about 10,000 captives. The Egyptians tried to make them surrender Rhodes or some strong place of Syria in return for their lives, but the nobles and the king separately denied their power to make any such stipulation. They then threatened to put the king in irons; his only reply was that, being in their power, they might treat him as they liked. At last they demanded a ransom of a million of bezants, equal to 500,000 livres. The king consented to pay this sum for the ransom of his army, and give up Damietta as the price of his own liberation, as one of his rank could not be valued for money. The Egyptians agreed at last to strike off a fifth of the sum.

The treaty was scarcely concluded when the Hauleka,

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a guard attached to the person of the Egyptian sultan, assassinated that monarch, and the French were obliged to negotiate with his murderers. These menaced and delayed, and at times showed an inclination to kill all the prisoners; but at last 200,000 livres were paid, the king and his followers embarked, and the Count of Poitou, who had remained as hostage, was restored. All then set sail for Acre, where it was stipulated that the remaining 200,000 livres should be paid.

Louis had not long arrived at Acre, when he received letters from his mother, pressing his return. He summoned his knights to council; in which the voice of all was for returning home, there not being 100 left out of 2800 that had left France. Joinville was for remaining in order to secure the recovery of the captives, and the king followed his advice, dismissing his brothers and the greater number of his barons. Louis remained four years at Acre and other towns, fortifying them, receiving embassies, and negotiating with the several Mussulman chiefs. He thus effected the delivery of all the captives from Egypt, but he accomplished little else, not even, as he wished, visiting Jerusalem, suffering himself to be persuaded that to go there without liberating it would be unworthy of him. One cannot but feel surprised, that the king of a country so rich and powerful as France, could not muster an army or effect something worthy of his position and his name. It appears, however, that upon one occasion a large amount of treasure, sent him by Blanche, was lost at sea. The death of the Emperor Frederic the Second, which took place in 1250, aroused the Pope to return to Italy, as well as to excite all Europe against his son and successor Conrad. Whilst the king was at Cæsarea supplicating his mother for men and money, the Papal clergy, says Matthew Paris, were preaching throughout Flanders and Brabant a crusade against Conrad, and promising all who should join it, not

merely the remission of their own sins, but those of their families. Blanche therefore summoned the nobles of the kingdom, and complained "that the Pope was exciting war between Christians, and preaching a crusade to augment his own dominions, whilst Louis in Palestine was forgotten."

The crusade against Conrad then began to be preached in France; but Blanche soon put a stop to it, by seizing the property of all who assumed the cross for that purpose, saying, "that the Pope must pay his own soldiers." The barons treated their vassals in like manner, and told the monks who preached the crusade, that it was they, the proprietors of the country, who fed, clothed the monks, and built churches for them, whilst the Pope did nothing except make them odious to their benefactors. In fact, whilst St. Louis, his family and his noblesse were engaged in an enterprise too vast for them, the rescuing of the Holy Land, expending on it 1,500,000 livres, the Pope was absorbed in the policy of an Italian prince, moving heaven and earth to defeat and destroy the Hohenstauffen.

The nobles and the Queen Regent of France were not the only persons or class that murmured against the selfishness and worldliness of the Church. The disasters of Louis, and of his army in Egypt, made naturally a deep impression upon the common people, and even they were struck with the powerlessness of the two great dominant classes to perform the important task of delivering the Holy Land. Similar failures at a later period gave birth to the mission of Jeanne d'Arc. In 1251 this eagerness of the poor and ignorant to try what their efforts could do to accomplish that which the great failed in accomplishing, produced the insurrection of the *Pastoureaux*. Some forty years previous a mania had seized children, who crowded in numbers, and set off southwards to the Holy Land, to perish of course ere they proceeded far. Some said, it was the

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same man who had then seduced children upon such an errand, that now succeeded in imposing upon the shepherds and poor people. He was an Hungarian, who had been a monk of Citeaux, that monastery from which had issued the Albigensian crusade. This old man, pale, and with a long beard, practising severe abstinence, knowing many languages, and possessor of great fluency of speech, declared that St. Louis could not be effectually aided and the Holy Land saved, except by the weakest and least esteemed of men. Shepherds flocked to his banner, from whence the name of *Pastoureaux*. But all the loose and dissolute soon swelled his band. The first town they invaded was Amiens, where they were well received, and where they began to perform the functions of clergy. Their leader in his discourses denounced the monks and ecclesiastics whom his followers made no scruple of slaying. They came to Paris, and were honourably entertained by Blanche, who thought they might have been sent by the Lord to rescue her son from the Saracens. The Master of Hungary, as the leader called himself, preached in St. Eustache, ordered two of the clergy to be killed, and was for treating the students of the university in the same manner. From Paris they went to Orleans, were guilty of the same excesses, and showed the same enmity to clerics and scholars. Their conduct became intolerable by the time they reached Bourges. The archbishop ordered the gates to be shut against them, but the people admitted them. They were, however, guilty of such violence, and their leader of such absurdity, that the popular opinion turned against them, and the bailiff of the district was enabled to disperse them and to slay their chief. Henri Martin says, he was probably a Manichean from the Danube, who came to avenge upon the clergy the slaughter of the Albigenses. The tidings of the death of the Queen-Mother Blanche, towards the close of 1252, could not make the monarch

decide to return, nor did he leave Palestine till the spring of 1254. The fleet had not long sailed, when the royal galley in a fog struck on the island of Cyprus. The king was instantly entreated to quit the vessel. He first asked the mariners, would they abandon her; they replied No; on which he determined to remain on board also. "There are five or six hundred persons with me," said Louis, "who, if I quit the ship will remain in Cyprus, and have no choice of returning to their country: I would rather endanger myself, wife, and children, than inflict such a fate upon so many." The royal party landed safely at Hieres, after a stormy voyage of ten weeks.

The monarch was no sooner on the Rhone, than he saw symptoms of the harsh rule of his brother. The people made numerous complaints, especially of a prohibition to export, which had rendered the wines of the country of no value. He therefore issued an ordinance restoring the right of exportation, and commanding that no such prohibition should on a future occasion be issued, without holding an assembly of the nobles, prelates, and citizens, by whose advice such prohibition should be given or withheld; and once passed, no exception should be made, or favour shown to individual merchants.

It was not merely in this one respect of prohibiting the south from exporting its produce, whilst favoured individuals were permitted to do so with great profit, that the malversation of the royal functionaries was manifested. When St. Louis asked Joinville to accompany him on his second crusade, that nobleman's reply was, "that when he was before beyond sea on the service of God, the officers of the King of France had so grievously oppressed his people, that they were in a state of destitution. Another crusade would totally ruin them." When such was the case with Joinville's estates, which were in Champagne, not very remote from the capital,

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what must have been the licence and tyranny of the *baillis*, or rather of the seneschals, as the royal functionaries were called in newly conquered lands, on the right bank of the Rhone, so far from any central control?

Louis perceived these effects of his absence, and abuse of his authority, for whilst upon the Rhone he issued his first ordinance relative to seneschals and baillis, which he amplified and re-issued from Paris two years later. By this edict Louis ordained, that all such officers were first to take an oath to administer justice to great and small, and according to the received customs of their districts. They were to accept no gifts, and to make no presents to the king's officers sent to inspect them. They were not to borrow money, or acquire property, or profit by adjudication in their districts. They were not to become linked with the inhabitants in marriage, for themselves or their children. No one was to be deprived by them of his heritage, without the king's knowledge; nor was any man to be arrested for debt, except it was due to the crown. In addition to these clauses, placing checks on the rapacity of his officers and magistrates, Louis enacted others, which were the foundation of his subsequent improvements in criminal jurisprudence. No one was to be kept in prison, who could justify himself, unless the judge had weighty reasons for detaining him. Interrogatories were to be communicated to accused, contrary to the practice of the Inquisition; and no man, however poor, was to be put to the torture on the testimony of a single witness. How enormous must have been the tyranny and abuses, which such an edict was so urgently required to remedy!

Blanche, as regent, had shown an equal desire to mitigate the severity of the government, at least in Languedoc. She had the happiness of beholding the consummation of her great act of policy, the acquisition

of Toulouse. Count Raymond had not fulfilled his vow to proceed to the crusade; he had made a journey to Spain, and on his return had witnessed the burning of eighty of his subjects, for their old heresy at Agen. No doubt they were in the hands of the Holy Inquisition, against which Raymond had found it vain to contend. That count expired in 1249; and Blanche immediately sent the brothers Chevreuse, to take possession of Toulouse in the name of Jeanne and her husband, the Count of Poitou. They met with no opposition. The young count was absent with St. Louis, and did not return until 1251. Blanche issued an edict in 1250, ordering their property to be restored to those who had fled from fear, without being guilty of heresy. Wives, she ruled, should not be dispossessed for the faults of their husbands, nor should a landlord lose his right because his tenants had been condemned by the Inquisition. An edict exists of the Count of Poitou, granting to the people of La Rochelle that the property of those who died intestate should not be forfeited. Whether this great immunity from church tyranny—for a testament could only be made in conjunction with confession and a priest's sanction—was extended to the rest of Languedoc, does not appear. The Count of Poitou on his return was well and tranquilly received by his new subjects.

The Count of Anjou did not find equal submission and quiet in Provence. The great cities of Avignon, Arles, and Marseilles had leagued against him, invoked the aid of the emperor, and levied troops to support their cause. On Charles' return Arles submitted, as did Avignon, which belonged conjointly to the Counts of Toulouse and of Provence; but Marseilles, which had resisted Raymond Berenger, resolved to maintain its republican freedom. Charles made no effort to enforce his authority at the time, but four years later, the Marseillais refusing to pay the 40,000 livres annually

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due to the count, in which they were encouraged by Boniface, Lord of Castellane, Charles brought an army from Anjou, and the citizens thought it better to yield. Their fortifications were razed, the count's jurisdiction established in high and low town, which he joined, and a garrison of his soldiers occupied the castle of St. Marsel. The Marseillais, however, remained turbulent; and when, in 1258, St. Louis married his son and successor, Philip, to Isabella of Aragon, he obtained a promise of the king of that country not to aid the people of Marseilles. In 1262 the townsfolk rebelled, chose Boniface of Castellane their leader, took the castle and ejected all the officers of Charles. The latter once more raised an army in Anjou, and marched to suppress the rebellion. He first laid siege to the chateau of Castellane, took it, and then wasted all the environs of Marseilles. After a long siege he reduced it by famine, his fleet blocking the port, and preventing any supplies from arriving. Charles promised to leave the citizens the liberties which they had been allowed in 1258, but he insisted on punishing those most hostile to him, and causing them to be decapitated. The reduction of Marseilles gave to the kingdom of France the important portion of the Mediterranean between the Alps and Pyrenees.

That Languedoc and Provence should in time have been a portion of that monarchy which had become so strongly constituted in the north, was but a natural and desirable result. What was to be lamented, was the harsh, the terrible and sanguinary mode of their subjection, which extinguished the peculiar civilisation of the south in blood, and which contributed to brutalise and to retard the north itself. In the south the oppression of the two great dominant classes of noblesse and clergy had been removed. They were in Languedoc, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, what they were compelled to become, in

northern France two centuries later, when feudalism and bigotry were mitigated, and when the wealth, influence, and education of the middle and civic classes made themselves felt, if not predominant, in society. The Church of Rome, therefore, by its rancorous determination to reduce the south of France to the dull and prostrate orthodoxy which formed its ideal of Christianity, threw back not only Languedoc, but France itself two centuries. Had north and south come more peaceably and equally together, the more free and more advanced condition of the southerns would have prevailed in a greater degree in the French constitution, and middle class liberties and ideas, both in religion and politics, might not have proved, as they continually did in France, and as they still unfortunately continue, a failure and an abortion.

Although it was in the reign of St. Louis that the French monarchy received the great extension which made it rival even the German Empire, that monarch was without the greed of acquisition. The salvation of his own soul, and the sanctification of the country, was his first object. To suppress profane swearing in his dominions was an aim of far greater importance to him than the annexation of a new province. He issued numerous ordinances on this subject, fixing the most severe penalties for such transgressions. He forbade any of his own officers to play at dice or at chess, or to enter a tavern. And his anger at finding the Duke of Anjou engaged in a move of chess knew no bounds. His policy with regard to surrounding nations could not but partake of his Christian spirit. His anxiety was not to acquire, but to pacify, and he would have given up whole provinces, had his barons or his councillors not dissuaded him.

But whilst the king pursued this pious and equitable policy, the adventurous, acquisitive, and aggressive spirit of his family and his nation found an instrument

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and a representative in one of his brothers. This was Charles of Anjou, a prince equally greedy of glory and of gain, and touched by no scruple that stood in the way of either. He professed a respect for religion as profound as St. Louis. But whilst this sentiment in the king was always disinterested, the religious enthusiasm of his brother resembled that of Simon de Montfort, who contrived always to carve out empires for himself whilst fighting under the standard of the Cross. Charles, like all papal fanatics of the day, was an enemy of Frederic the Second, and ever ready to oppose the pretensions of the empire. This indeed he had found hostile to him in Provence, which really held of the emperor, and most of whose population regarded the French prince as an intruder.

Hainault was another of those countries which acknowledged the emperor as suzerain. It was Frederic who had declared the issue of the Countess of Flanders by the Count d'Avesnes legitimate. And St. Louis in his arbitrage had admitted the validity of the decree. The Countess of Flanders at a later period had a feud with the offspring of her first marriage. And in the war which ensued Charles of Anjou took active part, with the evident desire of wresting Hainault both from the D'Avesnes and from the German Empire. William of Holland came to their succour with a large army, and there was every prospect of a great battle between him and Charles, when the chiefs of both armies prevented the conflict. On the return of St. Louis from Palestine, he would not support his ambitious brother, but put a stop to the war, reinstated the D'Avesnes, on their paying a considerable fine, and thus restored peace to his northern frontier.

It was then that Charles turned his warlike efforts southwards, crushed the Imperial party in Provence, and reduced Marseilles. By that time the Imperial crown had passed to Richard of Cornwall, who could

take but little care of his remote interests. Charles seized the opportunity to extend his power across the maritime Alps, to acquire Ventimiglia, and to substitute himself as patron of the Guelphs and of the Papal interests, for that of the Ghibelline chiefs, who held the cities of South Piedmont. Charles was thus the first French prince who extended his views, his ambition, and his arms to Italy; a policy and a path so ardently followed by his descendants, and so productive of the most serious results to the destinies of France, and of its reigning family. CHAP. VI.

Having regulated the question of Hainault, St. Louis next directed his attention towards a settlement with Spanish potentates whose lands bordered his acquisition of Narbonne. With the King of Navarre, who was his vassal for Champagne, he concluded not only peace, but alliance, giving his daughter to young Thibaud. He at the same time reconciled his son-in-law with the Count of Brittany.

With the King of Aragon Louis came to the most sensible of agreements. Each monarch agreed to give up whatever pretensions they might have in countries lying on the side of the Pyrenees opposite to them. The French had claims on Barcelona—the Aragonese, on Narbonne, Beziers, and Toulouse. It was settled that the Pyrenees should be their frontier; and this compact was sealed by the marriage of Philip, son of Louis, and afterwards Philip the Bold, with Isabella, daughter of the King of Aragon.

A more difficult task in the hands of the peace-making king, was the conclusion of a solid and definitive peace with England. Henry had previously rejected his offers; but that monarch was now in the hands of his barons, who had curtailed his powers, and assumed many functions of the government; so that the English king might not be supposed to be anxious about foreign claims and possessions, concerning which, moreover, his barons

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were known to be indifferent. Henry the Third had come to Vincennes to visit Louis, who sympathised with his fallen state, and no doubt promised to aid, as far as was possible, in the recovery of his royal power.

Louis's offers were, therefore, more favourably received now, and a treaty was concluded in 1259. According to its tenor the French king yielded to Henry all the fiefs and domains which he possessed in the bishoprics and cities of Limoges, Cahors, and Perigord, except the homage of his brother, and whatever he could not dispose of by letters. But these he was bound to purchase and give up within a year. Louis was, moreover, to pay the yearly value of Agen, until it should fall to the Crown, when he was to transfer it to England. After the death of Alphonso Count of Poitou, the lands that he held in Xaintonge beyond the Charente were to be ceded, or a money value paid for them. The same was to be observed with respect to the land he held in Cahors, provided it could be proved that the first grant came from the King of England. The King of France, moreover, was to pay for the support of 500 knights for two years.

All this is very far from a complete cession of the provinces immediately north of the Garonne. When portions of France were formerly held by the Plantagenets of the Capets, the sovereignty was complete in the lands of the royal vassal, the homage merely nominal. But now the suzerain kept the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the *regale* of all bishopricks, maintained the right of appeal to the royal court, contrived to keep his seneschals in the provinces nominally ceded. And in fact all that Henry acquired by these concessions, in return for which he waived the claims of his family upon Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, was a certain amount of annual income, stipulated but not paid. As to the Limousin and Perigord, they were held by counts, who nominally transferred a kind of allegi-

ance, but between whom and the suzerain was left no place for the authority of the sovereign vassal. French historians allege that the populations of these provinces were so incensed at Louis' ceding them to the English that, after his coronation, they refused to celebrate the fête of St. Louis. This was gratuitously severe and unjust on their part, for the provinces were not ceded, nor apparently did any change take place worth noticing; and after the death of the Count and Countess of Poitou and Toulouse, the lands of Agen and Xaintonge were demanded and redemanded for a long time, in vain, by Henry and by Edward. Perhaps the pious and just Louis thought he was making a fair and honest restoration, but his lawyer councillors took care that this should not be the case.

Whilst the king thus terminated all differences between himself and foreign princes, he at the same time made equally strenuous efforts to put an end to enmities between his neighbours. A king so bent on peace could not tolerate the right or the habit of private war, which still continued within his dominions. He had sought to limit it by his edict of forty days' truce, or *quarantaine le roi*. In 1257 he learnt that the prohibitions of this edict were completely set at nought in Auvergne. He instantly ordered the seneschal and bishops to look to it, and seized the opportunity of issuing an edict to forbid private war throughout the kingdom. Trial by single combat was a kind of private war, though ordained by courts of justice and presided over by the authorities of the district. To abolish this solemn custom was a more difficult and complicated matter. But even this St. Louis undertook in 1260, and he prepared an edict for the purpose, with the legists of his parliament. It forbade judical combat, and commanded that in all cases where it prevailed, proof by witnesses should be substituted. This, in itself a revolution, required a remodelling of the whole criminal jurisdiction and law. And

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this St. Louis achieved later in the ordinances known by the name of his *Etablissements.*

It was not merely by their right of appealing to arms, either in private war or legal battle, that the feudal aristocracy set freedom and justice at defiance. They were supreme in their own courts, and had the power of awarding even death. St. Louis shrunk from interfering with such seignorial privileges by an edict; but he seized a memorable occasion of showing that the king's justice was as paramount as it was equitable and humane, and that the highest should not set it at defiance.

The house of Coucy was one of the first in France, as, indeed, the ruins of its castle still show. Enguerrand had succeeded to the title and possessions, when a very young man, in 1250. He was much addicted to the chase and chary of its privileges. It happened that three young Flemings, well connected and of good families, who were pursuing their studies at a Benedictine abbey near Laon, were engaged in the sport of killing rabbits with bow and arrow, and unconsciously pursued their game within the precincts or the preserves of Coucy. Seized and brought to the castle, the young lord, without inquiry, ordered them instantly to be hanged. The order was executed. The Benedictine abbot, shocked at such an occurrence, informed of the fact Gille Le Brun, constable of France, who was a relative of one of the victims. The king was instantly told, and he summoned De Coucy to appear before him in council. Enguerrand came to Paris, but demanded to be tried by the Court of Peers. This was denied him, and apparently without much justice, on the plea that he was not a peer or a baron, but held Couci as a fief of the diocese of Rheims. As lords of Boves, near Amiens, the De Coucys had been barons, but were no longer so, it was alleged. Such chicane showed the influence of legists in the council of St. Louis. They caused Enguerrand to be arrested and committed to the

donjon of the Louvre. De Coucy was allied to all the great families of the kingdom, the chiefs of whom came and besought the king to punish the young noble with a fine and dismiss him. But Louis declared that he was worthy of death for so wanton a murder of three guiltless youths, and that he should be punished according to his merits. However, the king summoned the baronage of France to assemble. When thus publicly arraigned, Enguerrand had no means of disproving the murder, but he appealed to a trial by battle. The king had only abolished this as yet in counties of his own jurisdiction. But he now denied it in the case of De Coucy, saying, that compelling christians, widows, and humble people to trial by battle, was a mockery of justice. The Duke of Brittany, the King of Navarre, and others then interfered; but Louis would not listen to them and withdrew. The barons then took counsel, and seeing the determination of the king, advised the accused to throw himself on the royal mercy. They also did the same, and instead of expostulating, merely demanded grace. Louis was thus induced to spare the life of Enguerrand, which he at first seemed resolved to take, but he condemned him to a fine of 1000 livres, and to a loss of his privilege of dispensing justice and keeping game preserves. He was to go to the Holy Land for three years. A nobleman, a relative of the De Coucy, was heard to exclaim, on learning the judgment, that the king had nothing to do but to hang all his barons. Louis called the speaker to him and told him, that he would hang no baron, but would not fail to punish them according to the crime they might be guilty of. With De Coucy's fine Louis built the hospital of Pontoise and the Cordelier's Church in Paris. Enguerrand, to be dispensed from proceeding to the Holy Land, paid 12,000 livres more to the bishop of Evreux.

The keen and natural sense of justice, felt by Louis, did not extend to those complications of politics, in

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which class struggled with class, or with the Crown. Louis had no idea of mixed principles of government, or the right of subjects to control or make compromises with their sovereign: Of political constitutions he knew merely what churchmen and the legists of the Roman law taught. These made the monarch a divinity to the contempt of either natural or feudal freedom. In the quarrel therefore between Henry the Third and his barons, Louis only considered their resistance as rebellion. The first efforts of the French king to negotiate peace between contending parties was to reconcile King Henry and Prince Edward. Henry was probably encouraged by Louis in that assertion of his authority which he made in 1263. Louis and several of the French barons promised their aid to the English king on this occasion, and the Count of Saint Pol brought eighty knights with him to England. Foreign aid, however, could not enable Henry to reduce his noblesse, and both parties consented to take St. Louis as arbiter. He summoned them to Amiens at the commencement of 1264. Henry attended, whilst Leicester sent an excuse; he foresaw that a king who had rendered himself absolute could not give fair judgment in such a cause. Louis annulled the provisions of Oxford, merely on the grounds of the Pope having done so. He ordered all the fortresses to be restored to the king, who was to name what officers he pleased, and to employ as many foreigners as he liked. It was impossible to show a more complete contempt for national rights or a people's desire. Nor could any decision be at once more unjust or more imbecile; it was accordingly at once set aside. And the English of all parties learned that no Frenchman, not even one of the perspicuous intellect and noble nature of Louis, could understand, much less reconcile, those differences inherent in the nature of English progress. It is worthy of remark, that the only personage of the French court who favoured Leicester, was Charles

of Anjou, a stickler, one should have thought, for royal authority. But perhaps he revered the progeny of the conqueror of the Albigenses, or saw in Leicester, a man of the strong mind whom he might call, as he did, "his brother." Louis paid to the English queen the money due by him in virtue of the late treaty, which enabled Eleanor to raise an army. Soon after De Montfort lost his life at Evesham. Louis was generous to his family, whilst the people of England gave proof of their grateful and independent spirit, in considering Simon de Montfort as a martyr who had perished in their interests, and in canonizing almost the only liberal patriot that ever enjoyed that honour.

Whilst France was progressing in aggrandisement, unity, and absolutism, England in those struggles of varying fortune between king, aristocracy, and people, which gave nerve and virility to all, with a wholesome respect for each other, Italy was convulsed by the efforts of the Popes to combine a territorial with a spiritual empire. The Pontiffs of Rome had no means of even attempting this excepting through the principle of feudalism, to which their character, law, and rule were so opposed, that it was impossible for the system to hold together. From the very rise of the Papacy, its chiefs had been obliged to make use of one military potentate or another. It was a most unfortunate thought for them to resuscitate the power of Charlemagne, and to continue, in the person of his German successors, the old Roman Empire, the existence and pretensions of which necessarily jarred with their own. The most magnanimous Emperor and the most equitable Pope could not have agreed. The Pontiffs, in order to resist such a power as Barbarossa, took under their protection at once the democracy of the north Italian republics and the Norman feudalism of the south. The latter it was never able to master; and when Sicily and Naples lapsed, by marriage, to the Imperial family, the Popedom found

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itself more than ever overwhelmed by the great antagonists, which it was their eternal policy to provoke. Still, as its spiritual power was on the increase, it made use of it to resist. When it dominated in England and in France, gave thrones and provinces, destroyed populations, and founded kingdoms beyond the Alps, it could not brook the idea of being reduced to a subject rank in the Peninsula itself. Hence its rancour against the Hohenstauffen; and its determination that Italy, south of Rome, should not belong to them. Pontiffs tried to effect this at the head of armies, but their expeditions ended in their defeat. Still preoccupied with this exclusive thought, the Popes utterly put out of sight the increasing progress of Saracen and Mogul. The Latin empire of Constantinople fell in 1261, and the period of the Popedom's greatest power was that of the greatest reverses to Christendom. Manfred, the natural son of Frederic the Second, maintained gallantly and successfully the sovereignty of his family in Naples. The Pontiff had set up an English prince as his rival, there being no royal family then so submissive to the Holy See as the Plantagenets, and so incapable of making use of whatever power they might obtain, in opposition to Rome. But the Plantagenets were neither warriors nor enthusiasts, nor had they any longer the wealth to fit out expensive expeditions. Henry the Third, indeed, wrung large sums from his parliament, whilst the Pope levied a still more considerable amount from the pliant church of England. But without a hero or a head, they could not shake the power of Manfred.

A French ecclesiastic, native of Troyes, ascended the Papal chair in 1261, under the name of Urban the Fourth. Within a short time he promoted no less than seven French bishops to the rank of Cardinals, and his devotion to St. Louis was extreme. Moreover, the French king entertained an aversion, amounting to horror, of Manfred, who, to the laxity and nonchalance of

his father, Frederic, added a predilection for the Saracen, and who had called even many thousands of these African adventurers to swell his army, and enable him to defy the Church. When St. Louis went southwards to marry his son Philip to the Princess of Aragon, he broke off the marriage on learning that the King of Aragon was about to give another daughter to Manfred. Urban thus naturally made an offer of the crown of Naples and Sicily to St. Louis.

That monarch pleaded all kinds of scruples, and refused, whereupon Urban made the same offer to Charles of Anjou and Provence. Such an enterprise fully suited that ambitious prince, who had on a former occasion entered into negotiations on the subject. But Charles also felt the difficulty of the undertaking, and made several demands. In obedience to them the Pope granted him a tenth from the French clergy, and created him senator of Rome, a title under which Brancaleon had recently wielded in that city an authority superior to the Pope.

Charles experienced much difficulty and delay in raising an army, but anxious to close with the Pope, he set sail with about 1000 knights, in the spring of 1265. He escaped the fleet of Manfred, reached Rome, assumed the office of senator, and took up his lodging in the Lateran. The Papal legates in the meantime preached through France the crusade in his behalf. All the indulgence of a holy war was extended to the invaders of Naples. And thus 30,000 French crusaders passed the Alps, and joined Charles at Rome towards the close of the year. He was however in terrible straits for money to pay this army, neither St. Louis nor his brother Alphonso showing much alacrity to aid him.

Charles, therefore, marched in mid winter to decide the quarrel. Manfred was alarmed at the overwhelming numbers that his enemy brought into the field against him, and sent deputies to Charles to treat. The only

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answer of the prince was, "Tell the Sultan of Lucera that I will either place him in hell, or he must send me to paradise." On the 18th of February, Charles captured the strong city of San Germano, and Manfred having retired upon Beneventum, was pursued thither by the French. A battle ensued, in which the Saracens and foreigners of Manfred's army fought well from noon till eve, the Italians making no resistance: Charles was the victor, his rival perishing on the field of battle, February, 1266. The town and province of Naples immediately submitted. One third of the spoil was given to the victorious French crusaders, who marched back to their country. Whilst Charles thus dismissed his foreign soldiers, he took small care to conciliate his new subjects. Epistles of Pope Clement remain taxing him with cruelty, with indifference to everyone save himself, and with an arrogance that alienated Provençal as well as Neapolitan. Frederic and Manfred had drawn ample resources from the south of Italy, which Charles wasted and even impoverished.

Such conduct encouraged fresh rivals to appear. Conradin, the young son of Conrad, the last prince of the House of Hohenstauffen, determined to quit his retirement of Suabia and march to vindicate his legitimate claims to Naples. Accompanied by princes young and rash as himself, Frederic of Austria and Henry of Castille, Conradin entered Lombardy and appealed to the Ghibelines of the region. Aided by these he marched by Pavia to Pisa and Rome, and entered the Abruzzi. The rivals met near Tagliacozzo, on the 27th of August, 1268. The Germans of Conrad's army defeated Charles's Provençals at the first charge, killed their general Cosance, and seemed certain of the victory; but dispersing in pursuit, Charles attacked them with his French knights whom he held in reserve, and turned the fortune of the day. The Spaniards, under Henry of Castille, made the most determined resistance, but were at last overcome.

Conrad and Ferdinand of Austria escaped from the field but were afterwards captured. Charles, with the fondness of his family for legal forms, brought the last prince of the Hohenstauffen to a mock trial, and having condemned him and Frederic to death, caused both the youths to be decapitated in the market square of Naples, with several of their followers. The Pope is said to have sanctioned, in the form of an epigram, this first execution of a sovereign prince after a form of trial. Conrad, immediately before his execution, flung his glove amongst the crowd. It was picked up and given to Peter of Aragon, who had espoused the daughter of Manfred, and whose family had been dispossessed by the royal family of France of all their territories north of the Pyrenees. Peter was a remarkable character, one who well knew how to make use of the hatred borne by Sicilians to their northern oppressors to avenge the wrongs of the House of Suabia.

If St. Louis had been chary of money and of aid to his brother in his ambitious enterprises, it was because the monarch was meditating himself a more pious expedition—another crusade to the Holy Land. On learning the success and the cruelty of the Saracens, he had by public edict forbidden any games or amusements throughout his dominions save the use of the cross-bow.* But such acts of piety being of little effect, he resolved once more to set forth on a crusade. The Pope at first dissuaded him, as did his faithful servant De Joinville. But Louis was determined, and few of his noblesse had the courage of Joinville, who refused to accompany him. In 1268 the king took oath in solemn parliament to set out for the Holy Land within two years. He spent the interval in preparations, in collecting money, forces, and friends. Edward of England and several of his barons assumed the cross, and came to France with his uncle Richard in 1269, on which occasion St. Louis advanced him 70,000 livres on the

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revenues of Gascony. Amongst other preparations for his voyage, his weak state of health too clearly indicating it might be his last, St. Louis resolved to collect his several judicial reforms and ordinances, to perfect and complete them, and leave them as a kind of solemn testament to his country. He employed the most experienced legists at this task, and made them take council of notable men in every class which his laws concerned, not convoking a parliament for the purpose, but consulting each separately, and thus awakening no jealousy and collision through ignoring those legislative rights which, on feudal principles, the more eminent of his subjects possessed.

The ordonnances and the *établissemens* of St. Louis may be considered, as they tended to three different, however connected, aims. In the first place, they were directed to the abrogation of seignorial jurisdiction and feudal procedure; secondly, judicial and administrative power having become vested in royal functionaries, the object of the king's edicts were to regulate its exercise, amend its abuses, and prevent its wrongs. Besides these, St. Louis laid down new principles of procedure and law, criminal and social.

The ordinance of *quarantaine le roi*, or the truce of forty days imposed on private vengeance, was the first blow dealt by Louis, not to feudal justice, but to the privileges by which feudalism dispensed with justice altogether. As the king's bailiffs were chiefly to see to the execution of this ordinance, it gave them immediate power of interference and control. In addition to this truce, the king promulgated a law afterwards consigned in the *établissemens*, enabling the threatened party to claim *asseurance*, that is, an obligation imposed by the magistrates upon the threatening party to keep the peace. The king's court and the king's bailiff were naturally had recourse to for this purpose. In all cases, where the sovereign or his interests were concerned, the

bailiffs pretended that they alone, or the parliament, were entitled to decide. Such cases were called *cas royaux*, and feudal courts were forbidden to decide them. Then came the doctrine that there always lay appeals from the seignorial to the king's court. In feudal trials, the party who lost had the right to *fausser jugement*, and challenge his judge; this monstrous privilege was neither more nor less than an appeal, and trial by battle being done away with, there could be but appeal to a superior court. This facilitated the judicial revolution, of which the bailiffs were the chief instruments, and placed feudal justice and courts at the mercy of the crown. The possessors of seignorial jurisdiction in many cases favoured rather than resisted this revolution. Accustomed to solve all difficult cases by single combat, they were not prepared or trained for the trial by witnesses, which St. Louis substituted for it, and which was conducted by the forms and with the minutiæ of the civil law. The barons, therefore, began to appoint regular legists to fill the functions of seignorial judge *, and these favoured the pretensions and adopted the ways of their brother legists in the pay and interest of the crown.

More important than even the judicial functions and authority exercised by Parliament and by the legists, was their administrative power. The bailiffs were sent to the provinces as judges and as collectors of the revenue especially from the non-feudal subjects of the king; but they were in truth prefects or governors, commanding the armed force of the state upon occasions, and accustoming the people to look to a king's officer or functionary as supreme in his district and of authority paramount to either a feudal chief or a local power.

It was the appointment of these royal functionaries

* An edict of Philip the Fair rendered this imperative.

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throughout the provinces, that made the original difference between France and other countries. The erection of a court for political, fiscal and judicial purposes, was common to all, and was earlier in Normandy and in England probably than in France. It was in the action of this court upon the provinces that commenced the difference. In England the custom arose of sending itinerant magistrates to hold assizes and fix the rate of taillage throughout the country, in fact to perform those functions for which the king of France appointed permanent bailiffs. Such are the germs of de-centralized government in one country, and of centralized in the other.

This contrast between the two administrations sprung also from differences in the formation and growth of society. In England the powerful Norman kings, masters of their noblesse, made their landed proprietors the great source of their revenues. They not merely exacted dues from towns and town population, but from clergy and from nobles. The kings of France, on the contrary, derived very few of their revenues from the aristocracy. From those beyond the royal domains, and from whom they received nominal homage, they derived no tribute, and even from the noblesse of the Duchies of France and Orleans reliefs and aids far inferior to what the Anglo-Normans levied. Hence it became the interests of the French king to foster and multiply the class which was not feudal, or which looked to the king as its immediate lord. These were formed and favoured not merely in towns and in the royal domains, but also in the rural districts. It was this portion of the population that *provosts* were first appointed to govern, and afterwards bailiffs.

This system was established before the kings of France and of England came to change their relative situations by the imbecility of John and the conquests of Philip Augustus. This revolution made the rich

monarch poor, and the poor monarch rich. It necessitated the English Government to have continual recourse to its barons for fresh supplies, and to summon them to parliament for that purpose. Whilst the French king, his treasury swelled by the royal proceeds of the conquered provinces, and by that which he derived from the regular dues of towns paying tolls and districts paying cess, stood in no need of summoning an assembly to grant him money.

Hence the contrasted character of French and of English parliaments, at those critical periods in the history of the two countries when they diverged from one another in such different paths. The English parliaments continually summoned to grant money to meet political necessities, were called to discuss those necessities, and acquired or retained political along with fiscal power. French parliaments, that is the French prelates and noblesse, were indeed summoned to give support to the royal authority, in great decisions, such as war or crusades; but their character was more consultative or corroborative, than independent or controlling. Their political functions were a mere form of assent given as adhesion, not advice. For judicial purposes alone was their co operation required. For there was no other power, that could decide quarrels or pass judgments upon nobles who claimed to be princes, except a judgment of their peers.

But whilst the French Court of Peers was secured and aggrandized in the possession of what gradually was to become the monopoly of judicial power, it ceased in reality to be a court of peers, and grew into a court of royal functionaries and magistrates. The great officers of the crown were first allowed a seat, and then the petty officers crept into the same privilege. Provosts and bailiffs, at first clerks and inferior functionaries of the court, were despatched from it to the provinces, whence, after fulfilling their functions and

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grown old in administrative cares, they retired to sit as judges and as councillors in *parlement*.

What consummated the revolution was the introduction of the ideas of the Roman law in all questions of politics and prerogative, as well as with regard to the penalties and procedure of criminal jurisdiction. Instead of the people being the dispensers of justice and the framers of law, the crown was considered to be the sole fountain of both. One has but to compare Beaumanoir with Bracton, the French with the English jurisprudence of that early age, to perceive how the English preserved Teutonic traditions, whilst the French flung them off to resume those of antiquity. Their monarchs were educated in the belief that in them alone resided the powers of legislation, and that they were in temporal things what the Pope was in spiritual, an authority appointed by Heaven. Translating their imperial pretensions into feudal language, the monarch declared that he held but of God. And unfortunately there was no class of his subjects to contradict or of his councillors to correct him, for the middle and rising professional ranks were then rallying to the king, for protection against the aristocracy, which, in its turn, with a fatality peculiar to France, came to consider inferiors as enemies and rivals. Despotism is always born of dissensions between the different grades of society. The union of them, or a fair understanding between them, is the only guarantee against tyranny, a guarantee which unhappily the French have never attained, and from which they are still so remote, as neither to see its necessity nor desire its completion.

In criminal jurisdiction the worst change was the preference given to the forms of procedure sanctioned by the canon law, which destroyed all publicity.* Still St. Louis

* "How came it," writes Montesquieu, "that in abandoning the old judicial forms, those of the canon law were taken in preference to the mode prescribed by the civil law? Because there was the example of

endeavoured to correct some of the evil effects, in that edict of 1254, of which the chief provisions have before been stated. There are proofs in Beaumanoir what abuses were perpetrated in the two matters of debt and arrest, and how powerless the king's edict was to remedy them. But the *baillis* had the power to act upon the king's injunctions and accomplish his will by an interpretation and an enforcement of law which amounted to legislation. Thus Beaumanoir in his district of Clermont remedied the gross abuses of guards put upon the goods of debtors, causing more damage than the value of the debt itself. The same judge decided that every prisoner should be tried, and condemned or discharged, within forty days after arrest, under a severe penalty to the authorities. This, the only trace of *Habeas Corpus* in France, is founded on the regulations of a single judge. Another of the provisions of St. Louis was that in all crimes leading to the punishment of death, reference was to be had to the king or the king's court, who, if necessary, would send down or appoint assessors to inquire into the crime and assist at the judgment. It is these assessors that Beugnot seems to have taken for jurors. The penal part of St. Louis' ordinances, as is the case in all codes inspired by religious sentiments, were rigorously severe. Not only were murder, arson, rape, treason, visited with death, but robbery also. Larceny was punished with loss of ears, or feet, or eyes. Heresy of course was extirpated by the flames.

Whilst St. Louis abrogated the judicial, and erased the political rights of the French noblesse, he attempted no change in the military organisation of the country, the most important perhaps of its institutions, for with

the ecclesiastical courts following the canons, whilst there existed no tribunal where the civil law was followed. The practice that was known was adopted; and that of the Roman law was not adopted, because not known."—*Esprit des Lois*, liv. 28. c. 40.

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military provisions were bound up social privileges. The essence of feudality was that the land was held in payment of the performance of duties, especially of military duties. And the French monarch had as yet invented no effectual mode of raising other than feudal armies. In far expeditions, beyond the sea, to the Holy Land, or to Italy, which greatly exceeded any term of feudal service, it became necessary to pay knights and soldiers. Joinville records how high and expensive this pay was. But in these expeditions the monarchs led the same chiefs and soldiers who would have formed a feudal army. The great magnates too supported their own expenses, as did the minor lords to the best of their ability, and the money allowed by the monarch was but supplementary. It was indeed attempted to regularize and provide for continued war in the East by endowing the corporations of Templars and Hospitallers with lands, the revenues of which went to support those priestly soldiers in Palestine. The aristocracy preserved the right to command and to lead; this seemed to be their principal privileges. To be a knight, which was tantamount to officer, was a higher distinction than being merely noble, nobles alone being entitled to aspire to knighthood.

It is very remarkable that in these days of military feudalism, in those middle ages, so stigmatized as aristocratic, the caste of nobles was never so exclusive, as it afterwards became when rude feudalism died away. Down to the thirteenth century men rose by their strong arms or their good heads from a low to a high rank, nor was the door inexorably closed against the villains by the feudal law, as it was by the courtiers. During the crusades especially, rich citizens purchased fiefs, and the townsfolk became possessed of lordly properties in land. The law did not debar them from purchase; and the possession of the fief for three generations rendered them fully noble. St. Louis first attempted to stop

such acquisitions by purchase, but they continued, and the commoner who became possessor of a fief was obliged to pay a tax called *francfief*, to make up for inability to perform military or feudal service. Several parts of France, never wholly feudal, found this severe, and St. Louis' successor was obliged to abolish *francfief* in Languedoc. Parisians, who may be supposed to have been the principal purchasers of lordly property, were excepted from it in 1371; and all Normandy later.

Whilst the monopoly of land, by the exclusion of non-noble purchasers, was thus by no means so close or so strict in purely feudal times as it became after feudalism declined, the law of inheritance was less rigid in favour of the eldest son than it will be found subsequently. A gentleman might leave to his younger sons at least one-third of his inherited estate, the eldest taking two-thirds; but if it was an acquired estate, he might will it as he pleased. The portions allotted to the younger sons were held by them *en parage;* that is, the eldest did homage and performed military service for them. Whilst where the Norman spirit dictated the law, as in England and at Jerusalem, the eldest son exclusively inherited the fief.

One would be glad to trace the proofs of any simultaneous rise or improvement in the condition of the labouring classes. But France, at least France Proper, north of the Seine, never contained a class of landed proprietors who were not noble. All the cultivators of the soil were subject to some lord, and the only mode of escape from his exactions, in other words, the only door open to freedom, was the becoming a burgher, or belonging to the king's private domain. The struggles of the civic classes were in fact to escape from feudal dues, claims, and exactions; and when certain rural districts asked or set up a freedom akin to the municipal, it was that they flung off a feudal chief, and became immediate

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tenants of the crown. But a class of yeomen, or independent peasants, such as existed in England, and created a peculiar spirit in our lower classes, were not to be found, at least in those parts of France which were objects of the legislation of St. Louis. It becomes a subsequent reproach to the French kings that they did not make use of the free peasant in war, and command his services, as the English monarch did those of his yeomen. The truth is, there was no such class in France to call on. Each lord had his retainers, and beyond them there were none but the population of towns, which furnished soldiers indeed, but not of that hardy kind which our Edwards and Henrys brought into the field.

The boldest, the most durable, and most important of the laws of St. Louis was his Pragmatic Sanction, issued in 1269, against the undue privileges of the clergy, and the usurpations of the Popes. More than twenty years previous, in 1249, the nobles of France had met and formed a league against the encroachments and tyranny of the clergy. It was by wielding their right of excommunication, that the ecclesiastics established a complete social tyranny. By the monopoly of licence to marry and of power to sanction wills, as well as to give judgment in cases of usury, that is of loans, they became judges in all the most important disputes. Heresy, too, was a crime which fell under their jurisdiction. Not content with these, they interfered in whatever suited them, and threatened or launched excommunications upon every opportunity: and excommunication, if not removed or mitigated, became in time confiscation. It is probable that the clergy about this time, perceiving the great progress made by the king's *baillis*, were anxious to set up as rivals to them, and exaggerate the jurisdiction of their courts. The barons, who would not, or did not, protest against the royal encroachments, resisted the ecclesiastical, and formed a league, of which

Peter Mauclerc, of Brittany, was the chief. The significant bond of this league was a mutual promise to aid each other in defying Papal excommunication. The Pope thundered forth a reply, declaring that Rome showed eminent forbearance in not insisting on its right to be the only court of appeal in existence. King Louis and his legists, in presence of such pretensions, of course supported the barons in their opposition. But the crusade cut the quarrel short. CHAP. VI.

As far as judicial privileges were concerned, St. Louis negotiated with the Pope, but obtained little: the Pontiff would only give up to secular judges, those priests who had married. He merely admitted power of arrest in the first instance. But since the Church would make no concessions to the legists, the legists, who, in the person of the bailiffs, were the magistrates of France, would not help the clergy, and became indifferent and passive in enforcing the consequences of excommunication. The prelates accordingly assembled in the capital, and complained to St. Louis, that "he was allowing Christianity to perish in his hands." The king crossed himself in astonishment, and asked "How was that?" The bishop explained: "Because no one cared any more for excommunication, the king's *baillis* refusing to seize the goods of those obstinate when under interdict." The king replied that "he was ready to coerce and prosecute those who had really wronged the Church." "Surely," rejoined the bishop, "the Church is the best judge of its own wrongs." "Ah," observed the king, "but the Church is sometimes mistaken; for instance, the Count of Brittany remained excommunicated for seven years by his prelates, and the Pope afterwards gave sentence that the prelates had been wrong." To this the bishop could make no answer. By thus refusing the sanction and support of his officers and functionaries to random excommunications, St. Louis condemned the tyranny of the local clergy. And the French legists, by afterwards

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establishing the right of appeal from ecclesiastical courts, completed the judicial emancipation of laymen.

The Pragmatic Sanction makes no mention of excommunication or of ecclesiastical courts. Its first article establishes the right of the national prelates to confer benefices as handed down to them, and the right of chapters and cathedrals to elect their bishops. The clause put a stop to the encroachments of the Pope, who, applying to France the abusive power he had acquired in England, pretended to nominate reversionally to prelacies and benefices. The *Sanction* next abolished simony, and all ecclesiastical appointments for money. Rome, in its urgent need of funds to conquer Naples, had introduced simony on a large scale. All these ecclesiastical appointments and arrangements Louis declared to be under the protection of common right, that is, of his own royal courts. Lastly, the decree forbade the levy of any tax by the court of Rome, "by which the kingdom had been miserably impoverished," and prohibited such for the future, unless sanctioned by the king, and consented to by the national Church. Whilst thus depriving Rome of the power of taxing the French clergy, Louis passed a law facilitating the restoration to them of tithes, which, especially in Languedoc, had then been largely appropriated by the feudal owners of the land.

The police of his capital was a subject that attracted the care and attention of Louis. The *prevot* or chief magistrate, previously purchased his place, and, of course, recompensed himself by vending justice, as well as the right to exercise trades. Louis abolished such a custom: he determined to choose a magistrate of rigid character, and give him a salary. This personage, named Stephen Boileau, made a collection of the usages of Paris. In the more lucrative trades the artizan was obliged to pay for the liberty to exercise it, either to the king or one of his officers. In return, they had the

advantage of being fewer than the supply demanded. It was necessary, however, at that time for trades to form corporations, in order to have their rights respected, and to find a special protector, in the king or some high functionary, for the same reason.

Another point on which St. Louis strove to establish his central and royal jurisdiction, was the coin of the country. Eighty princes or nobles had the right of coinage, and, of course, they made a profit of it. Louis obliged all to receive the coin stamped with his effigy in their domains, and fixed this coin in currency at its just value in exchanging. The *livre*, once a pound of silver, had at that time come to contain little more than two ounces and a half. Louis consulted three citizens of Paris, three of Rouen, two of Orleans, two of Tours, two of Laon, in his regulation of the coin. And French writers consider these as forming the first assembly of the *Tiers Etat*, or Deputies. Louis's system was to consult each province and each class apart, in every circumstance. This was, no doubt, better than acting solely by his individual will. But this separation and isolation by royalty of French provinces and classes, instead of laying the foundation of representation, was, on the contrary, most influential in inducing monarchs to dispense with it.

No name in modern history has been the object of more profound reverence and more enthusiastic praise than that of St. Louis. Royalists regarded him, and with justice, as the true founder of the monarchy, and liberals still laud him for having undermined feudalism, and shorn the aristocracy of those privileges which rendered them princes in the land. Here too, their gratitude is not misplaced; if equality rather than liberty be the first of political boons, St. Louis certainly contributed to it. It was indeed the monarch's singular fate, in an age so early, to anticipate the predilections and tendencies of his countrymen, at least those developed in the

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middle of the nineteenth century, by largely contributing to found a monarchy after the Byzantine model.

What St. Louis accomplished in this respect was far from being to the advantage of the classes who laud him. His efforts in destroying some of the worst privileges of feudalism, obliterated also some of its best and noblest principles, those which contained the germs of modern freedom and representative government. No laws had greater influence than those of St. Louis in excluding the French of all ranks from any participation in either judicial or political rights. He drew everything to the crown, to its administration and its courts, and commenced that centralisation which is the true machinery of despotism. When he curtailed seignorial privileges, he by no means extended popular or municipal rights. To govern for the people, not by them, and on the paternal rather than on the popular principle, was his view of the duties of a monarch: and he thus introduced the political doctrine of treating subjects as children, and converting a great country into an overgrown nursery, which has prevailed in France with such brief interruptions ever since his time. The feudal system which this replaced, supposed, on the contrary, manhood and mature intellect to exist in every class with reciprocal rights, and, within certain limits, mutual independence. If the modern world of Europe was to be other than the ancient empire of Rome, this was destined to be its distinguishing feature, with a rustic organisation embracing all classes, and not sacrificing the peasant to the citizen. This system, which became developed in England, St. Louis, his grandsire, and his grandson destroyed, or laboured to destroy, in France. The attempts to accomplish this may have been, in their age, premature. For after the death of Philip the Fair there took place a strong reaction towards freedom and local rights, to a resuscitation of aristocracy, and a decentralisation of the powers of government. Still it

was but the turbulent and anarchic portion of feudalism, its barren and unproductive elements, which survived, or were then resuscitated, to perish later at the hands of monarchs and ministers, who revived the original and interrupted task of Philip Augustus and St. Louis.

In March, 1270, St. Louis repaired once more to St. Denis, to take the oriflamme and at the same time his pilgrim's staff. He walked the next day with his son Peter, both barefooted, to Notre Dame; Philip, the future monarch, declining this act of humility. The king took leave of his queen at Vincennes, and proceeded by easy journeys to Aigues Mortes. Owing to the retard of the Genoese galleys, he did not sail till the 1st of July. His brother the Count of Poitou, his son-in-law the King of Navarre, and his other barons, joined him at Cagliari. There was held a council, whither the expedition should proceed. It was at first intended for Egypt. But St. Louis had been privately urged by his brother Charles of Anjou to land at Tunis, on the representation that the king of that country would easily be persuaded to turn Christian, and aid in the prosecution of the crusades. The truth was that some of the Mahommedan princes of the coast had become tributary to Aragon. Peter of Aragon had deposed a king of Tunis for refusing this tribute, and placed his brother on the throne. This ejected prince had probably recourse to Charles of Anjou, who, by the French expedition, flung the first provocation to his future rival, the King of Aragon. The French barons who accompanied St. Louis infinitely preferred landing in Africa, which was comparatively near, to a lengthened voyage to the Holy Land. The fleet therefore sailed for the Bay of Tunis, and the king landed on an island separated from the shore by a narrow strait. Here he awaited tidings of the answer of the Sultan of Tunis, who, for a reply, decapitated all the Christians he could lay his hands on. The French therefore proceeded to the main land, and

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occupied, not Tunis, but the ruins of Carthage, about a league distant, in the midst of which was a castle of no great strength. Here the good king rested, awaiting, as it was supposed, the King of Sicily. But in truth, he could scarcely support the weight of his armour at midsummer, on the coast of Africa. The great heat, and the number of dead, which too little trouble had been taken to remove, with bad water and insufficient food, soon occasioned pestilence in the army. Numbers of the crusading chiefs died; amongst others, the king's son, John Tristam, Count of Nevers, who, born in the first crusade, thus fell a victim to the second. The day of his son's death was the first of St. Louis's illness. He was seized with dysentery and fever, and after a fortnight's suffering, the good king expired on the 25th of August, 1270.

Joinville and several chroniclers have preserved his dying injunctions to his son and successor, Philip. They chiefly related to his observance of religious duties, to his practising confession and protecting the Church. But he also warned Philip to avoid heavy imposts, and to attend particularly to the conduct of his *baillis* and *prevots*, and make every amendment possible in his manner of dispensing justice. The king was but fifty-six when he died.

Louis, the eldest son of St. Louis, having died in 1260, Philip, his second son, succeeded to the throne. Peter and John died without issue; but Robert, the youngest son of Louis, receiving the county of Clermont from his father, acquired that of Bourbon by marriage, and was the founder of the family which afterwards wore the crown of France down to our times. Robert received such severe blows on the head during a tournament that he lost his reason.

Louis the Ninth has been portrayed by several hands; by his friend and fellow soldier, Joinville, by his confessor, and by the contemporary chroniclers of France and England, William of Nangis and Matthew Paris,—

Nangis, a dry, discreet, uninteresting recorder of events, Matthew Paris, a garrulous, frank, and argumentative recorder of the thoughts as well as the facts of the age. Louis appears under the least agreeable aspect in the limning of his confessor. His observance of the rules of monastic piety, his submitting to the discipline of the cord, his estimation of very dubious relics as of more value than provinces, and finally his cruelty in burning heretics and branding blasphemers, make us behold the inquisitor and the Dominican rather than the monarch. But there was evidently no medium possible at that time for a sincere man between full submission to the religion of the day as taught and the almost total rejection of it, as was the case of Frederic the Second and the Albigenses. Amidst the narrowness of education which prevailed, to question was to doubt, and to doubt was to disbelieve. So that in theology such men as St. Louis thought it best to accord implicit faith to the Church.

Had a person of intellect dared to open his eyes to the errors of religious teaching, as he did to the errors of law and government, even in the hands of priests, his common sense would have led him to similar conclusions, and would have made him a reformer of dogma and of discipline, as well as of law. But Louis kept his judgment fettered in the one, whilst he left it free on the other. With a friend and companion like Thomas Aquinas, he preserved the strict path of orthodoxy. It was on legal questions that he indulged in the free exercise of his judgment, and he did this with the more zeal and delight, because his reforms put an end to the reign of violence and war. Judicial proceedings were evidently his favourite pastime, as is evinced by the anecdote of Joinville, of the good monarch summoning suitors to have their causes tried under one of the oaks of the forest of Vincennes. His determination to bring Enguerrand de Coucy to justice is one of the noblest

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traits of his or of any monarch's reign. And his stern and upright resistance to the pretensions of either pope or prelates, when they were contrary to justice, display Louis not only as a saint, but, as he said himself, something better, — a *prudhomme*, a wise and just man.

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PHILIP THE HARDY.

1270—1285.

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ALTHOUGH St. Louis, inspired by the sentiments of true piety, philanthropy and disinterestedness, and by a magnanimous preference of justice to either ambition or aggrandizement, stood the foremost of his age in France, he was far from fully representing the country's spirit. He had, with righteous and humane purpose, sought to mitigate the rude authority of the feudal lords, and had raised from the dust a profession, that of the legists, better fitted to lead the middle class in resisting them, than even the wealthy townsmen had been. These first law officers and ministers were upright men, worthy of the monarch who selected and advanced them. But those whom subsequent kings elevated from the condition of clerks to be knights of their council and their judgment-seat, introduced mean principles of policy and habits of chicane, which disgraced their own profession and the master they served. The influence of these men became soon manifest, first in the reign of the son, and still more in that of the grandson, of St. Louis. Such ministers succeeded in enriching and even in aggrandizing the crown, but it was at the expense of character, and consequently to the diminution of that reverence which the kingly office should command. This produced a feudal reaction against the learned and middle

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classes altogether, and led in the ensuing century to the ascendancy of a new, exclusive, and arrogant aristocracy, more tyrannical and oppressive as well as more socially intolerant than that which the arm of Philip Augustus and the edicts of St. Louis had humbled.

Whilst the laws of justice and equality, which animated St. Louis became thus misrepresented, the disinterested piety of that monarch was contrasted in his own family with the selfish fanaticism of his brother, whose fervour for religion was mingled with a passion for adventure, for vengeance, for blood and for greed, the very reverse of Christian feeling. There is no character more often reproduced in history, than that of the able, iron, ambitious fanatic, the expression of whose faith and piety is so earnest, that to question its sincerity is difficult, although the craft with which it is accompanied would induce serious doubts. Singular enough, the crusades did not give birth to many such men. Northern energy became invariably subdued in Palestine, and even in Constantinople melted down to a lax, self-indulgent, and reckless character, incapable of extending an empire or preserving a dominion. It was in a domestic, though religious war that such a personage as Simon de Montfort was formed, where the ruthlessness of the crusader was joined to the unrelaxed energy of the Anglo-Norman knight. Charles of Anjou was another De Montfort, as ambitious, as rapacious, as cruel, fanatic in the cause of religion and of the Pope, provided the religion was of his own conception, and the Pope a fanatic as himself. Charles was a brave soldier and an able general. He would have been a persecutor and slaughterer of heretics, no doubt, had any survived. St. Louis himself did not shrink from that sacred duty, or entertain doubts of its sanctity and justice. But Charles found something akin to heresy in the attachment of any people or class to liberty: St. Louis himself and his legists entertained

small respect for popular freedom. Divine right was the foundation with them of politics and of law; and Charles of Anjou was not a prince likely to object to such a theory. The rights therefore of cities or of nations were as nothing in his eyes, compared with his own claim to crush or to rule them, either by victory or by papal donation.

Such a prince attracted to his projects and his standards all the adventurous and unprovided of the noblesse. They could build no hopes upon St. Louis, who merely led warriors at their own expense to perish in the sands of Africa. Charles was a conqueror, a winner of kingdoms, and a dispenser of dignities and land. A monarch of less firmness and renown than Louis would have been eclipsed by Charles. But when Louis died, his son Philip, though monarch of France, declined into the second rank of French estimation, whilst Charles of Anjou concentrated the hopes, attracted the admiration, and represented the interests of the new monarchy.

St. Louis had scarcely closed his eyes in death on the shores of Tunis amid the ruins of Carthage, when Charles of Anjou arrived, and took the command of the army. Illness still weighed upon Philip the Third called the Hardy; how he earned this appellation remains unexplained. Charles immediately led the crusaders against the Egyptians, and tried to cut off the enemy from Tunis. This occasioned two or three severe engagements, which were without results, and proved to both belligerents the uselessness of continuing the war. They proceeded to negotiate. Charles of Anjou peremptorily demanded money, as an indemnity for the expenses of the expedition, which would have been the last condition put forward or insisted on by his brother. The Tunisians agreed to pay 110 ounces of gold, the French to evacuate Africa. As the chiefs divided the money, the rest of the army were discontented; so was Edward of England, who arrived with his followers soon after.

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The treaty was however concluded, and the crusaders set sail, on their return to Sicily, in November. A fierce tempest assailed them during the voyage, sunk eighteen of their vessels, and drowned four thousand of the army. Edward, considering the storm to be a sign of Divine displeasure, determined to proceed from Sicily to Acre. King Philip journeyed to Palermo, where his brother-in-law died of the fatigue of the crusade. His queen, Isabel of Aragon, soon after received a hurt whilst crossing a stream on horseback, and expired also. Philip, with a procession of dead bodies, reached the papal residence of Viterbo, where Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall, then in his suite, was set upon and killed, whilst at his devotions, by the two sons of Philip de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. These youths, driven to poverty and exile, (for the estates of De Montfort in England had been confiscated and given to Prince Edmund, the founder of the future house of Lancaster,) obeyed the dictates of vengeance and despair, and thus only hastened the destruction of a family so celebrated in its energetic abettal, for good or for bad, of the prominent ideas of the times. Soon after Philip arrived at St. Denis with the remains of his father and his wife. The monks of the abbey refused at first to admit him, there chancing to be in his suite two bishops in their robes. Their entrance into the abbey church would have been derogatory to its independent rights, and the prelates had to disrobe ere the living and the dead king could be admitted within the monastery.

Having performed the usual obsequies, Philip the Third repaired to Rheims to be crowned. The Dukes of Burgundy and Flanders attended the ceremony. But the sword of state, which on the coronation of Philip Augustus had been carried by the Count of Flanders, was now borne by the Count of Artois. This province was part of the Flemish succession: Flanders became, henceforth, more and more alienated from the French

crown and independent of it, making its own treaties with England and with other powers. Thus whilst the kings of France by no great efforts were extending their dominions over every southern race to the Mediterranean, and even over both Alps and Pyrenees, they met in the Teutonic population and princes, but a hundred leagues north of their capital, a resistance and a barrier which has never been overcome.

Shortly after died Alphonso Count of Poitou, and of Toulouse by right of his wife Jeanne; the countess survived her husband but a short time, leaving no issue to the house of Toulouse, and in consequence of Queen Blanche's treaty with the last Raymond, the whole of Languedoc lapsed to the French crown. Some of the southerns looked to the King of Aragon, in hopes that he would claim his ancestral suzerainty north of the Pyrenees. But the alliance between the royal families of France and Aragon of course precluded it. Philip sent his seneschals to Toulouse, where their mission and authority were at once recognised.

Henry the Third of England at the same time wrote to claim the restoration of Agen and the land of Xaintonge, which he said reverted to him on the death of Alphonso and Jeanne. Philip replied in the following year, by the counter-demand, that the homage of the Count of Limoges should be paid to him and not to the king of England. Moreover Philip put forward a claim to Guienne, in consequence of homage not being paid for it. This ceremony Henry, on account of his age and infirmities, was unable to come to perform. But the French lawyers left no stone unturned, no chicane unemployed, to keep the English king out of the provinces, which St. Louis had stipulated to restore, and at the same time to grasp or lay preparations for grasping whatever still remained to the English monarch on the continent of France. In 1272 Henry the Third expired. His successor, Edward the First, was then at Acre. Philip,

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about to march an army to the south of France, showed manifest signs of a desire to appropriate Edward's possessions, summoning his vassals and raking up every kind of claim. Pope Gregory, lately elected, a just man and a friend of Edward's, thought it necessary to interfere; and he published a bull for the purpose of checking French rapacity, and placing Edward's possessions under the protection of the Holy See, whilst the young monarch was absent in the Holy Land. When Edward did return, he performed homage in Paris to Philip for the lands which he *ought to have held* of the French king,—such were his words,—but which he expressly complained were still withheld from him. In 1275 we again find Edward demanding Agen, as especially assigned to the support of his mother; whilst Philip's parliament received appeals from the Gascon clergy against the seneschals of Edward. In this unsettled state did the relations of the two kings on the continent continue. In 1272 Philip visited his new dominions in Languedoc: in order to appear there with authority and state, he took advantage of a petty quarrel between the lords of Armagnac and Casaubon, to summon his feudatories of the Duchy of France, as well as Poitou, to meet him at Tours, in order to their accompanying him in his expedition southwards. The feudal muster proved very scanty: the barons of Normandy and Champagne would not march to the Pyrenees at their own expense; and notwithstanding all the traditions and principles of centralisation which St. Louis and his officers had left, Philip found it impossible to dominate or govern the South exclusively from the North. Hence, no doubt, Toulouse was formed into a new centre; a parliament was established there, as it had been found necessary to leave also that which before existed at Rouen. Seneschals and bailiffs had to render an account of their administration to it, rather than to Paris. And thus the centralised and absolute monarchy of France was

not more than in its infancy, when it was found necessary, nay, imperative, to decentralise, in order to preserve the allegiance and accomplish the wise administration of distant provinces. As long as the military power of the empire was feudal, consisting of chiefs and their retainers bound to but forty days' service, such decentralisation was indeed inevitable. Nor, in the difficulty of communications at that time, was it possible for functionaries or magistrates at Carcassonne or Aix to journey or refer to Paris. The spirit of the south was not sufficiently extinguished.

Still Philip maintained his feudal and military superiority. The Lord of Casaübon being too small a foe to crush, he resolved to strike a more puissant noble of his partisans, the Count de Foix, who maintained a kind of divided allegiance between France and Aragon. Philip marched to Foix, and invested its castle. The count himself commanded within; but showing that want of confidence, common to the southern lords in their resistance to the North, he surrendered. Philip consigned him to the prison of Carcassonne. The King of Aragon interceded rather than interfered for him; but Philip would not pardon or restore him till he gave up all his castles north of the Pyrenees.

Whilst Philip was thus reducing the feudal chiefs of the Pyrenees, Edward of England resolved to imitate him. He had much reason of complaint against Gaston, Count of Bearn, who had shown a wish to shake off the suzerainty of Guienne. Edward marched against him, besieged his castles, and Gaston endeavoured to escape from his danger by appealing to the French king and parliament. Edward is said at the time to have refrained from pursuing his advantage. But somewhat later Gaston of Bearn appears in England as a prisoner, confined in Winchester Castle, from which he was at length released. Edward gave every sign of a wish to remain at peace with France. There was a dispute about the

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castle of Fronsac, which was referred to the parliament of Paris, and Edward declared his readiness to abide by Philip's decision in the matter.

Meantime Charles of Anjou meditated designs far more vast, and pursued a policy more decided and extreme, than his nephew Philip. Charles' aim was no less than to restore the Latin empire of Constantinople, by expelling Palæologus, and thus subject the Greek Church to the Roman, as well as raise up for himself a throne which might eclipse those of either Germany or France. But Charles, though an able commander, was a rash politician, and wanted altogether those instincts and that prudence which guided St. Louis in the formation of a solid and well affected kingdom. Possessor of Anjou, of Provence, of Naples, and of Sicily, their united resources were quite equal to the task that Charles contemplated. But he knew not how to conciliate or ensure the support even of his subjects, by other means than those of despotism and violence. In Provence he had crushed the free cities, and made the wealthy class his enemies. Crossing the Alps as the friend of the Pope, the Guelphic party in Piedmont had delivered up to him the dominion of their towns; but they soon found him a mere tyrant, and withdrew their allegiance. In Naples and Sicily his government resembled that of William the Conqueror in England, two centuries previous. Instead, however, of the rude and barbarous Anglo-Saxon population, Charles found in Sicily a society more highly developed and cultivated than even the Toulousan. The Sicilians were in the enjoyment of liberty, and of that best kind, which reconciles the rights of aristocracy with those of the citizens and commonalty. All were represented in the Sicilian parliament, and no one can study the records of that time without admitting not only that the southern races of Europe are fit for and capable of constitutional government, but that they were the first to invent and

establish it. If such institutions perished from amongst them, it was from the same cause that Roman institutions perished in Europe, the influx of northern barbarism and violence.

It is much to be regretted that a prince so noble as St. Louis, and so well fitted to appreciate the principles of political liberty, was in no position to study and to know, much less represent and enforce them. Liberties were in the way of his reforms, and he accordingly set them aside. If he did so whilst consulting as much as was within his power the rights of humanity, what could one expect from his ruder brethren and cotemporaries? Charles knew and cared as little for the liberties of the Sicilians as Simon de Montfort did for those of the Toulousans. They as little appreciated such political institutions as the Goths the works of art in Rome. Charles' Provençal soldiers and French lieutenants trod mercilessly under foot the liberties and rights of the Sicilians. When Pope Clement made to him the grant of Sicily, he did so on the condition that Charles should respect the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under the good King William, and Charles had sworn to do so. But what was an oath to a papal champion? It is but justice, however, to Pope Clement to record that his letters and his remonstrance were humane and wise, beseeching Charles to govern as Frederic or as the good King William had done. Three years passed without a Pope, and in that time Charles might almost be considered Monarch of Italy; for he was King of Naples, Senator of Rome, Imperial Vicar in Tuscany and Lombardy: he had the whole sway in his hands. His arrogance equalled his power. His sole thought was the conquest of Eastern Empire, the only Empire, that of Germany, being as it were extinct.

There seemed no obstacle to Charles, when of a sudden there sprung up one, where he could least expect

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it, in the person of a Pope. The cardinals assembled at Viterbo, unable to agree upon the election of a pontiff of either of the dominant parties, agreed to choose a bishop then absent in the Holy Land, and known to be a stranger to Italian feuds. He took the name of Gregory the Tenth, and had truly but one thought and one aim, which was to free Palestine. To this he gave all his energies; and his first efforts were directed to reconcile the contending factions of Italy, to make Guelph and Ghibeline forget their mutual animosity. dwell and rule in the same cities, and unite for the safety of Christendom. This was a reversal of every pope's policy, and the destruction of the power of Charles, who reigned by the Guelphs, and who had in fact superseded the imperial or Ghibeline princes in Italy. The Greek emperor, to overthrow whose throne Charles was mustering forces, offered the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, and all his aid for Palestine. Gregory became reconciled with Constantinople, and of course closed the door upon the scheme of Charles' marching under Papal banners to the conquest of the Greek empire. Another blow dealt by Gregory to Charles was his inciting the Germans to elect an emperor: the choice fell upon Rodolph of Hapsburg. These successive acts of hostility to the power of Charles kept that prince's projects in abeyance, and himself in silent indignation.

Death removed Gregory, who had left such strict regulations for the assembling and for the operations of the conclave, that a Pope was necessarily elected in a short time after the death of his predecessor, and also without the possibility of powerful lay princes influencing the choice. Another Pope arose also hostile to Charles. Nicholas the Third was an Orsini, and had asked the King of Naples for his niece to be given in marriage to one of his own nephews. Charles indignantly refused. "Thinks he because he wears red stockings that his

blood shall mingle with mine!" Nicholas resented this contemptuous reply, and deprived Charles of whatever power or functions he held from the Holy See in North and Central Italy.

Whilst Charles, in despite of the Pope, still struggled to maintain himself as the head of the Guelphic party in Italy, and as the leading spirit of French adventure on the Mediterranean and in the Levant, a rival arose to him in a country which had not yet taken a prominent part in European politics. Charles' ambition had received great impulses from the pride of his wife, Beatrice of Provence, who could not endure to have two sisters Queens, without herself wearing a crown. Don Pedro, King of Aragon, had the same spur to ambition. He had espoused a daughter of Manfred, and the last female relict of the House of Suabia urged her husband to come forward as the avenger of its wrongs. The glove thrown by Conradin from the scaffold, ere he perished, was brought, it is said, to Don Pedro. Trade and communication were then frequent between Palermo and Barcelona. And the noble Sicilians or Neapolitans, whom Charles spurned, preferring to them his own Provençal and French officers, repaired to the court of Aragon and took service there. Amongst these were Roger de Loria, the great sea captain, a Calabrese, and John of Procida, who had been in the service of Frederic and Manfred. Most readers are acquainted with the popular tradition and belief, seized upon and accredited by historians as well as poets, that John of Procida, in concert with Peter of Aragon, planned the deep-laid scheme of extirpating the French from Sicily. There can be no doubt that Peter and his councillors meditated and prepared to attack Charles in that island, and that for this purpose the Aragonese monarch equipped and made ready a powerful fleet, under Roger de Loria, with land forces that himself was to command. The preparations attracted the attention of Europe, and the

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French king, among others, sent to ask their aim. Peter replied, that they were destined against the Mussulmans of Africa. But to others his observation was, that if his right hand knew what his left was doing, he would cut it off!

It would be tedious to discuss, and difficult to decide, how far the catastrophe which ensued was the result of preparation or of fortuitous circumstances. Certain it is, that in 1281 the reaction against the French in Italy was general. In that year, Pope Nicholas having died, Charles succeeded in procuring the election of a French Pope, Martin the Tenth, who not only restored to Charles his jurisdiction as senator of Rome, but summoned to him French soldiers to garrison and protect the holy city. These soldiers were obliged to besiege and capture the castle of Montefeltro. The Pope and his court being at Civita Vecchia, a quarrel arose between his holiness's French soldiers and the townsfolk. Rainer, the captain of the town, took the part of the citizens, and these rushed upon the soldiers with the same cry that the Sicilians afterwards used, "Death to the French." Charles took advantage of a pope completely in his interest to augment and hasten his preparations for the conquest of the East, assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, and covered his designs upon Greece by superadding to them that of recovering Palestine. His officers at the same time redoubled their zeal in the levying of contributions, and the practice of every kind of extortion and oppression in Sicily. According to Amari, the spirited historian of these events, the chief conspirators against Charles were his own impolicy and misgovernment, with the rudeness and rapacity of his agents. It was the Tuesday after Easter, in the year 1282, a day devoted to the festival of the Holy Spirit. The inhabitants of Palermo repaired in crowds on that fine summer's evening to a village church dedicated to the object of the day's reverence. French soldiers, more

police than soldiers at the time, came to the number of 200 to the *festa:* with their usual insolence they began to hustle the men and insult the women, under the pretence of seeking for concealed arms. A French soldier named Drouet, behaving in this manner to a young Sicilian wife, was struck by her husband's stiletto. The cause and the result of the quarrel soon spread through the crowd. "Death to the French" was the universal exclamation, no sooner uttered than executed. All the French were killed. The rumour, the passion, and the cry were communicated to Palermo, and found a population but too ready to echo and embrace it. The French in Palermo were attacked, soldiers and monks and civilians. Sicilians reminded each other of the massacre of Agosta, where the French had put all the inhabitants to the sword, and the terrible precedent was eagerly followed. Not only in Palermo, but throughout the island, the rising became general, and with the same immediate result, except at Messina, which the French for some time defended. According to Villani, 4000 French perished in the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers.

This catastrophe, and the causes which produced it, have been narrated because in truth they are the first events which interested and involved all Europe in what might be called a political struggle. Previously such hostility prevailed between Italy and Germany, England and France, whilst all united together to drive the Saracen from the Holy Land. But a division of Europe into two camps, with kings and courts marshalled against each other, had not taken place. France and Frenchmen were now embarked in Italian policy, and took the place of imperial ascendancy there, whilst an altogether new kingdom, that of Aragon, took up the Ghibeline or imperial cause against France, and commenced a rivalry, which, however interrupted, was destined to fill centuries of the history of both countries.

Charles was at the Papal Court, when he heard of the

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insurrection which had swept his soldiers and commanders from Sicily. He had at once a presentiment that his arbitrary schemes were at an end. Villani describes his prayer to God to have been that, "since his days of misfortune had set in, he might be let down little by little, and not destroyed at once." Charles instantly sent word to France of the reverse which had befallen the French arms, and bade his son, the Prince of Salerno, to repair to Philip the Hardy. The latter instantly suspected the blow to have proceeded from Peter of Aragon, who had had the audacity to borrow 40,000 livres from the French king for this very purpose. "Should it prove true," said Philip, "as sure as I wear a crown I will exact signal vengeance."

Philip was not mistaken. Peter of Aragon had set sail with his fleet and with the army which it bore, first to the coast of Africa. There he learned the catastrophe of the Vespers, and he turned his prows to Sicily. Charles, at the same time, assembled at once the army which he was equipping for the Grecian expedition, and marched it to the extremity of the peninsula. Many Italian cities, Florence among the number, sent their contingents to swell the army of Charles against Sicily, considering him chief of the Guelphs. Charles passed the strait, and laid siege to Messina. So formidable was the host, consisting of 5000 knights, and infantry proportionate, while the strait was covered with 130 galleys, that the citizens proffered submission, if allowed their privileges and an amnesty. Charles, in reply, insisted on at least 800 of the citizens being given up for execution. "We will eat our children first," was the answer of the Messinese. A part of the city was undefended by walls, and completely open. The women undertook to bring stones, and to build the wall, whilst the men withstood the enemy. Against such courage and determination of the Messinese all the efforts of Charles and his soldiers were vain.

In the meantime the parliament of the island assembled in Palermo, and its first efforts were directed to bend and conciliate the Pope. The French Pontiff would hear of nothing less than the insurgents submitting to Charles; to this they replied in so resolute a negative that the Pope complained that the Sicilians treated him as the Jews did Christ,—hailed him king, and gave him a cuff. They therefore turned from the French Pope, and offered the crown to Peter of Aragon, then off the coast of Africa, on condition that he would allow them the liberties they enjoyed under their good King William. The Spanish monarch consented, and as Charles had appealed to the King of France for support, Peter now applied to Edward of England.

Whilst the Angevins held Messina itself besieged, and tried in vain to take it by assault, Peter had arrived in Palermo, was recognised king, and prepared to shut up Charles in his camp before the city, by occupying the mountains with an army, and the straits with his fleet. The Neapolitan commander declared he had no galleys and no sailors fit to encounter those of Peter's admiral, Roger de Loria. Charles was therefore obliged to raise the siege and retreat across the straits, to the jubilee of the Sicilians and to the mortification of the Guelphic party in Italy as well as of the Court of France.

The military power and experience of Charles having thus so signally failed before the nerve and determination of an oppressed people, his ally, Pope Martin, had recourse to the traditional tactics of the Church. He solemnly excommunicated Peter of Aragon, declared him to have forfeited his kingdom, and proposed to make it over to the Count of Valois, son of King Philip. The Pope having with this aim preached a double crusade against Aragon and Sicily, French knights and nobles crowded to the support of Charles; the Counts of Alençon and of Artois, of Burgundy and Avignon, hastening to pass the Alps. But the strife was fortunately suspended by

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both princes provoking each other to decide it by single combat. Such a contest could scarcely be considered on equal terms, Charles being so much his rival's elder; but it was agreed that they should fight a hundred of a side at Bordeaux, under the protection and guarantee of Edward of England. That monarch was unwilling to preside at or sanction such a duel. Although solemn conventions had been entered into, the Pope, who protested against the combat, had declared them null. The day before that on which the duel was to take place, the 1st of June, 1283, the King of Aragon appeared in Bordeaux with his followers, and assured himself, by speaking with the seneschal, that there was no guarantee to be relied on that his person would be secure, the French troops being at no great distance. Peter therefore withdrew protesting, and the duel did not take place.

Philip the Third, in the war which he was about to wage across the Pyrenees, had the great advantage of possessing on the other side of the mountains the kingdom of Navarre. The heiress of the Thibauds, Jeanne, bred up at the French court, Philip now gave in marriage to his eldest son Philip. She had been betrothed to this prince when he had yet an elder brother; the marriage nevertheless took place, and as French seneschals were already in Pampeluna, the war was thus carried into the very centre of Spain. The Navarrese undertook an incursion into Aragon, where they were able to make but small impression.

It was no easy matter at that epoch for monarchs to wage effective war. Their efforts in France and elsewhere had been to destroy feudality, to control the power and privileges of the aristocracy; and yet the noblesse were the only chiefs who could raise or conduct soldiers. The Church had put down the existence of mercenary bands and the habit of employing them, yet the feudal knights and barons would not take the

field unless specially indemnified. This was seen when Philip the Hardy, at the commencement of his reign, summoned his feudatories of the north to march to Toulouse. There was now a war with Spain, and of course it was only from the provinces contiguous to the Pyrenees that military service could be expected. Philip the Hardy journeyed southwards to procure and to organise this, and his policy was to grant the nobles and the citizens of this region their privileges and that local authority, of which the Albigensian crusade had deprived them. He established a *parlement*, he endowed towns with rights and privileges, and no doubt received promises of money, soldiers, and supplies in exchange. What was of still greater assistance to the conduct of a distant war was the Pope's considering it as a crusade. By this means the monarch was enabled to levy taxes on the clergy wherewith to pay his feudal officers, and moreover, to find attraction for them in the religious indulgences and pardons which the Pope dispensed. In order to the solemn undertaking of this crusade, Philip found it necessary to summon his barons and his prelates to meet him at Paris in February 1284. When they had assembled, the king laid before them the bull of the Pope, transferring the kingdom of Aragon to Charles of Valois, on which point the monarch consulted them. When he had done so the peers and prelates retired, each into separate rooms, to consider and discuss the matter apart. This is the first time that took place that separation of estates which afterwards characterised these assemblies in France. Though much divided in opinion, nobles and clergy at last recommended the king to accept the Pope's offer; and the legate immediately placed a hat upon the head of Prince Charles, whom his cotemporaries afterwards called the king of the Hat, to distinguish him from the king with the crown. This was not distant from the time in which the Pope sought to dictate to an English parliament

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the line of conduct which it and its king should pursue with regard to the succession of the Scottish throne. The indignation with which the English repudiated the Papal intervention, is strongly contrasted with the conduct of the French barons in greedily accepting for one of their royal princes the crown of a living monarch as a Papal gift.

These and the other preparations for a warlike expedition were tedious, and, notwithstanding Philip's resentment against Aragon, more than two years elapsed ere he could cross the Pyrenees in person. In 1283 he summoned Edward to lend his aid as Duke of Aquitaine, which the latter evaded by pleading the pressure of the Welsh war. Edward, indeed, wanted in England whatever soldiers Guienne could afford, but the Bordelais complained that as the French king would not allow them to pass armed, it was impossible for their knights to proceed to England to the support of their own monarch.

The years spent by Philip in preparations were more actively employed by Peter of Aragon. The republics of Italy had given the example of states contending for supremacy at sea, and the possessor of an island like Sicily could not but mainly depend upon naval victory. Charles had turned his seaports in Provence to the fitting-out of the naval armaments which were to reduce the Greek empire. The King of Aragon had been equally provident and active at Barcelona. Both fleets encountered each other near Malta; the Aragonese and Sicilian under Loria, Provençals and French under Cornut of Marseilles. Not only did the fleets engage, but the two admirals with their respective vessels boarded each other and fought hand to hand, Cornut perishing by the hand of Loria. The defeat of Charles's navy was complete.

Loria stayed but to land his prisoners in Sicily, and sailed for the coast of Naples, which he insulted. The

Prince of Salerno, son of Charles, commanded there, and was under express orders from his father not to risk an engagement till he should arrive from Provence with a fresh fleet of fifty sail. Young Charles of Salerno, however, could not brook Loria's insults, and sailed from Naples, with all the galleys there, to give battle to the Sicilian admiral. He was unfortunate in his gallant attempt, losing all his galleys, and himself remaining a prisoner. Charles soon after arrived, furious equally at the disaster and at his son's disobedience. "Why did he not die?" exclaimed the father, shocked at the advantage to the enemy of holding his son a captive. His wish was well nigh fulfilled by the Messinese, who proposed nothing less than putting the Prince of Salerno to death, in revenge for that of Conradin. But the daughter of Manfred, Constance, Queen of Aragon, saved the prince and brought him off to Barcelona. Charles, inflamed by permanent rage, brought fleet and army once more to the straits, and laid siege to Reggio, which, though on the opposite coast, the Messinese had taken and held. Unsuccessful in this as in his attack of Messina, Charles was obliged to retire to Brindisi and from thence, suffering with fever, to Foggia. Here this most restless and ambitious prince expired, in January 1284. The heir to his possessions being at the time a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Charles, with his dying breath, besought Philip the Hardy to be the guardian and also the ransomer and protector of the heir of Anjou.

Philip was eager not only to respond to the dying wish of his uncle, but to signalise his reign by the conquest of a kingdom. His preparations were complete. Twenty thousand knights awaited him at Toulouse, in the spring of 1285, with four times that number of infantry and followers. On this occasion the French did not attack Aragon through Navarre. Their alliance with the brother of Don Pedro, who was King of Majorca

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and Count of Roussillon, not only afforded them a more easy ingress to Spain, but enabled them to be accompanied by their fleet. The little fortress of Elme, at the foot of the Pyrenees, offered the first resistance, and the legate, who commanded one of the French divisions, instantly laid siege to it. Those within offered to surrender, if not released within a few days; but the legate would neither grant delay nor show mercy. He ordered the assault, which was successful, and commanded that no quarter should be shown to those in arms for their country against the orders of the Church.

Peter of Aragon was totally without those resources for defending his country that Philip had at his disposal for invading it. The latter had wealth, numbers, the unanimous and zealous support of his subjects, who now began to attack all foreigners—English, Spanish, or Italian — with an exclusively national spirit. The Spaniards had not yet awakened to such sentiment, and the French king had, moreover, Don Pedro's brother, with the province of Navarre, and the King of Castille, on his side. Neither was the monarch of Aragon upheld by his subjects, who, like the English of that day, when Edward besought them to help him in war against the French, replied by insisting on greater liberties and immunities from taxation. The legate summoned Peter to submit to his rival, to whom the Pope had given his kingdom. "Such modes of giving and taking a crown cost little," said Peter; "my ancestors purchased theirs with their blood, whoever would take it from me must pay the same price."

Peter with a small force kept post on one of the heights of the Pyrenees, and defied the French to pass; nor could they have done so had not a knight of Roussillon betrayed a secret path over the mountains. By it the French descended into the plain below, and Peter being obliged to withdraw, they without opposition laid siege to the strong town of Gerona. The menacing presence

of the French then roused the Aragonese and Catalonians to resistance; at the king's desire they formed guerilla bands, while he fortified Barcelona. In one fierce encounter the king of Aragon was surrounded by his foes, and after a chivalrous defence escaped, not without a wound of extreme severity. The French say it was the cause of his death. Pedro, however, lived long enough to see himself a complete victor. The Sicilian fleet arrived under Loria, attacked and destroyed all the French galleys in the harbour of Rosas, and Philip with his army was reduced to what supplies the land and its roads could furnish. Provisions began to fail, and pestilence, the usual accompaniment of those large military expeditions in that age, began to appear. Gerona could hold out no longer; after supporting a three months' siege it surrendered, but it was to victors as weak and as distressed as the vanquished. The French king hastily flung a garrison into Gerona, and commanded a retreat towards the Pyrenees. It was disastrous, the retiring foes harassed by the Spanish guerillas, and unable from sickness to resist. Peter, it is said, might have distressed the French and disputed the repossession of the Pyrenees, for Aragon and Catalonia had all now rallied to him. But he allowed their 4000 knights, the remainder of 20,000, to go unmolested through the mountain defiles, escorting King Philip extended in a litter. According to the French, it was the timely arrival of the Count of Narbonne with fresh troops, and not any forbearance of Pedro's, that enabled Philip to get to the north of the Pyrenees. The king reached Perpignan, his illness increasing, and he expired in this town on the 5th of October, 1285.

Almost immediately afterwards Gerona surrendered to the King of Aragon, who thus reversed the only result of the war. Peter lived to see but not enjoy his victory. He was about to sail with Loria for the conquest of Majorca, when a sudden fever carried him off. Thus

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were withdrawn together from the scene the chief actors in the stirring drama: Charles and Peter, Philip and the Pope. And the French monarchy, in its first great and simultaneous attempts to overrun the Alps and the Pyrenees, and subject the principal provinces of the two peninsulas, encountered the same fortune, which ever after attended the first results of similar enterprises.

Philip the Hardy left four children; his successor, Philip, and Charles, Count of Valois (the hat king of Aragon) sons of Isabella. By Maria of Brabant he left Louis Count of Evreux, Margaret, afterwards queen of Edward the First, and Blanche, Duchess of Austria.

The government of Philip the Hardy is chiefly remarkable for initiating nothing. It was St. Louis who inaugurated the policy of supporting Charles of Anjou, and that led of necessity to the Aragonese war. Philip maintained the same friendly relations with England that St. Louis had done. He and Edward were on the best of terms as their mutual letters testify, each yielding to the other whatever was required to maintain peace if not alliance. There is even some identity to be remarked in the legislative efforts of the two monarchs. Both persecuted the Jews, both passed statutes of mortmain about the same time, both, in summoning parliaments, called the several orders apart; both granted important rights and privileges to the middle classes, with the same view of extracting money from them more easily than from the aristocracy. The liberties which Philip granted or sanctioned to the people of Rouen will be found amongst his ordonnances of 1278. In this respect, as in the consulting of parliament, Philip was more liberal than his sire.

St. Louis knew how to attach to him a number of men of all ranks and talents, and to distribute his favours equally. Knights like Joinville, lawyers like Pierre des Fontaines, churchmen like St. Thomas Aquinas, found their place in the good king's intimacy. But

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Philip, *quamvis illiteratus*, as Nangis described him, was not fond of the learned or the talented. In the first years of his reign he made a confident of Pierre de la Brosse, who had been a chamberlain of his father's. Philip advanced him to high dignities, and endowed him with rich fiefs; his brother, too, he made a bishop. De La Brosse was unfortunate enough to make an enemy of Queen Maria of Brabant, a quarrel that proved fatal to him. The circumstances are too characteristic of the times not to be related.

Louis, eldest son of King Philip by his first wife, Isabel of Aragon, having died rather suddenly, his death was attributed to poison. Peter de la Brosse did not shrink from insinuating that the queen was guilty of this act, and that she was capable of inflicting the same fate upon all the king's children by Isabel. The son of St. Louis, disturbed by such a rumour, did not recur to any of his good father's modes of investigating crime. He resolved to consult a soothsayer. Two or three persons were mentioned to him as possessing the gift of what in our day has been called *clairvoyance*. A kind of *beguine* or begging nun, of Nivelle in Flanders, was fixed on as having most reputation. And Philip sent the Abbot of St. Denis to question her. Whatever the abbot heard in reply, he considered it too serious to repeat. He therefore declined speaking, on the plea that what he had heard was under the secret of the confessional. The king, piqued and angered, sent other messengers, who at once told that they came from the King of France. The *beguine* accordingly gave the best possible character of the queen. Singular to say, we learn all this from the Chronicle of St. Denis, a history of the time written in that orthodox and enlightened monastery. The verdict of the *beguine* satisfied Philip, and abated much of his trust and friendship for De la Brosse. Some time was allowed to elapse, when the grandees, who were bent on

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the ruin of La Brosse, discovered, or pretended to discover, a treasonable correspondence of his. He was accordingly handed over to their justice, — the first instance of an extraordinary royal commission, — and hanged. Both the Pope and the populace seemed to think him the victim of unrighteous vengeance. Philip afterwards confined his intimacy to the court, and its baronial circle.

The king encouraged tournaments, which, being forbidden by the Pope, would have fallen under the prohibition of Louis. He entertained the project of the single combat with Charles of Anjou, and Peter of Aragon. He presided at the tournament in which the young Count of Clermont, the founder of the house of Bourbon, received such severe blows on the head as to shake his reason. He was not present, however, at that more famous tournament, in which Edward of England, at the head of 1000 knights, held a pass at Chalons against the count of that town and his Burgundians.

The combat between the knights was fierce and serious, the Count of Chalons flinging himself on Edward's neck to drag him to the ground. Edward spurred his horse forward, and gave the count a heavy fall. He tried to renew the attack, but was so severely handled, as to be compelled to cry mercy. The English knights having the advantage, the Burgundian followers of the worsted party attacked the English of the same class in the suite of Edward, and a skirmish ensued, in which the Burgundians were sorely maltreated and a great many slain. National quarrels, indeed, became frequent. The English and the Picard students in the University of Paris came to ferocious strife in the year 1281, and the English, according to Nangis, drove the Picards out of Paris. A few years later this animosity spread to the rulers of the two nations, and led to serious political results.

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PHILIP THE FAIR

1285—1314.

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HISTORY has recorded but the acts, and preserved but the public documents, of the reign of the Fourth Philip. Striking as most of these acts were, and far more so to his cotemporaries than to us, no person undertook to comment or explain them. The reader is left to grope after the motives and exercise conjectures as to the causes which influenced the monarch's conduct. Royalty, which had been gradually rising from the century previous, began to inspire awe more than love. The nobles, from having been its equals, sunk into mere courtiers; and knights, who like Joinville, had lived on equal terms with the good St. Louis, no longer approached Philip *le Bel*, or held converse and intimacy with the sovereign. The clergy began to sink in the social and political scale. In the earlier centuries the world was theirs, to mould or to impel, to endow with orthodoxy or annihilate if it refused. And monks, of course, chronicle the events of an age of which the spirit is monkery. But as the thirteenth century, in which ecclesiastical men and influence were predominant, drew to a close, they gave way to other men and other influences; and these were not communicative. His legists had the ear of Philip the Fair, and dictated the resolves and the edicts of his council; but they saw the necessity of

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being humble, of concealing their predominance, and working in the dark. They have left us no effusions, no records, save judicial ones, no simple and sincere confessions. Nangis, who spoke at large of St. Louis and Philip the Hardy, becomes circumspect in the following reign. And the meagre chroniclers of the convent of St. Denis distort to monastic advantage the few facts they record.

According to the Catalonian chronicler, Muntaner, Philip was far from being a zealous approver of the crusade into Aragon. He is said to have blamed the ferocity of the legate, resisted that holy man's special claim to massacre women and children; and he displayed jealousy and dislike of his brother the Count of Valois, alluding to whose Aragonese crown, he called him *il ré di Capello*. According to Muntaner, Philip the Hardy towards the close of the campaign came to partake these opinions of his eldest son. It was difficult, however, to suppress or terminate a war raging over so many kingdoms. The two eldest sons of Pedro, Alphonso and James, succeeded that monarch, the first in Aragon, the second in Sicily. Roger de Loria, the admiral of both, prosecuted the war against France and Naples, destroying the French ports in the Mediterranean. Charles the Second of Naples, son of Charles of Anjou, was still a prisoner; but Robert of Artois commanded for him, and acted as guardian to the son of Charles the Second, a youth whom Villani calls Charles Martel. Numbers still flocked to his standard; with such aid his Angevins had captured Agosta on the coast of Sicily, and menaced to reinvade the island, when Roger de Loria, in June, 1286, came to challenge their fleet in the Bay of Naples. The French knights, Guy of Montfort, young Philip of Flanders, and the Count de Brienne insisted on accepting the challenge. A fierce naval battle ensued, in which the French and Angevins were defeated, and their chiefs captured.

Edward of England had endeavoured during the previous years to bring about a peace. He had failed through the inveteracy of Pope Honorius; but that pontiff was no more. Roger de Loria's victory deprived the Angevins of all hope of conquering Sicily; and Edward's exhortation was at last listened to. In 1287 he succeeded in concluding a truce between the King of Aragon and the Angevins, by which the latter were to pay 30,000 marks, and give up the three sons of Charles the Second into captivity, on condition of Charles himself being released. This accord or truce was concluded for the purpose of being converted into a definitive peace. But no sooner was Charles free than the Pope released him from his oaths; and receiving fresh supplies from France, he renewed the war; whilst Philip the Fair, ignoring the truce altogether, prepared to attack Aragon in concert with the King of Castille. But the French and Spaniards had really no cause of quarrel, and did not seriously menace each other. The parliament of Aragon, therefore, took the matter into their own hands, and negotiated with the Pope and with Philip, promising to allow the Sicilians and Neapolitans to fight their own battle, provided the brother of the King of France would abandon the assumption of the title of the King of Aragon. Charles the Second of Naples was equally anxious for peace, and when the Sicilians came to besiege Gaeta, the circumstance led not to fresh encounters, but a two years' truce. The death of Alphonso of Aragon, and the consequent transfer of King Jayme from Sicily to Aragon, again broke the arrangements already made. But all parties were weary; France, Naples, the Prince of Anjou, the King and people of Aragon, and even the Pope. The Sicilians alone were determined not to yield; and when Jayme abandoned them, and when even Roger de Loria and Procida turned against them, they still persisted, chose Frederic,

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the young Aragonese prince, for their king, and defied united Europe to subdue them. There was no alternative but to leave the Sicilians their independence and their constitution, for which they had so gallantly fought. Thus terminated the stirring and heroic episode of the Sicilian war.

The French king turned his attention to what was more profitable than conquest beyond the Pyrenees, and this was the extension of his monarchy to the entire range of these mountains by the reduction of Guienne. Edward the First had shown towards the young French monarch an obsequiousness and a kindness similar to that which Henry the Second had shown to Philip Augustus; and he met with a similar return. If Henry had desired to remain the nominal vassal of France, Edward was equally submissive with respect to Guienne. That province, almost limited to Bordeaux and Bayonne, and to the barren lands between them (for the French king's fiefs came to Armagnac, and close to Mont Marsan), was not worth a national war, or any strenuous and constant exertion, for which the spirit or the ideas of the English were not prepared. It was easy for the first Plantagenets to war with the King of France: they had but to call on their feudatories of Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine. But to defend Guienne now required armies of English lieges, and these would not embark on transmarine expeditions. England therefore wisely and of necessity turned the military force of the country in the sole direction in which it could be employed, to the reduction of Wales and of Scotland. Feudal armies were well fitted for reducing neighbours, ill fitted for distant war. Edward subdued Scotland and Wales, and tried to tranquillise the ambition of Philip the Fourth by obsequiousness and fairness. This was no easy matter. Philip was in character a reproduction of his ancestor, Philip Augustus. Although able to maintain his place with dignity and courage at the head of armies,

when circumstances necessitated it, war was not his element. A continuation of it placed his feudatories almost on a level with himself, and this he did not like. His predilections and pastime were indeed the exercise of his judicial rights as king, by means of parliament, and of the supremacy which he attributed to it; his favourites were the band of lawyers who animated that parliament, and inspired the councils of the crown. A similar taste and similar predilections were remarkable in the good St. Louis, who, of all characters, preferred that of the paternal judge, deciding quarrels and making awards. It was by this love and labour of jurisprudence that Philip Augustus had laid the foundation of monarchic despotism, and that St. Louis had reared the edifice. For it was St. Louis more than any other monarch who dispensed with the concurrence of any assembly of his subjects or of his barons in legislation. The legists, under Philip the Hardy, continued their work as actively as before, though with little use of the king's edicts or name. Philip the Fair did but make use of the powers which St. Louis had procured or bequeathed him.

At the period of his accession the anomaly was, that whilst the monarch had grasped and used an uncontrolled power of judging, administering, and legislating, this was paralysed, and in a great measure rendered futile, by an inadequate amount of military force. The domain of the first monarchs had sufficed for the maintenance of their household. War waged by military feudatories paid itself. By degrees, as kingly power increased, royal functionaries multiplied. Having no funds wherewith to pay these, they were first allowed to reimburse themselves out of the proceeds of judicial courts. The Provost of Paris was salaried by the sums or fines which artizans paid for the liberty of exercising their trades. This led to abuse, and St. Louis gave the provost a fixed salary out of the treasury. No doubt the

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same principle was extended to other functionaries, and a large amount soon was consequently required for the salaries of civil officers. The produce of the domain, of the *tailles* from towns, of relief and aid from feudal tenants, was not sufficient to meet the increased expenditure, which monarchs had no means of explaining to their subjects. And thus Philip the Fair and Edward the First obtained the character of rapacious sovereigns, whereas, in reality, they were always in want, and always grasping money, for the necessities of the State.

M. Guizot, in his history of French civilisation, distinguishes between those who became despots with a great, disinterested, and progressive aim, and those who were despots from mere personal gratification. He presents St. Louis as a sample of the first, and Philip the Fair as an exemplification of the second. But this monarch does not appear to have been actuated by movements of caprice or vindictiveness, so much as by the marked disparity between his authority and his means. All the enterprises of Philip the Fair were conceived with the view of increasing his revenues, or procuring ready money. Hence he gave up the war of Aragon as impossible. He endeavoured to seize Guienne, and get rid of all English claims, north of the Garonne, which were chiefly pecuniary. For the same reason he attacked Flanders, in order to be able to mulct its rich cities. His destruction of the Templars, and his crusade against the Church, had their rise in the same feeling and the same necessity, the procuring for the crown of wealth in some proportion to its power.

Edward the First obeyed the same necessities, and made similar attempts. But he was met on every occasion by determined and yet temperate resistance, which enforced in England the indispensable conjunction of crown and people, and the control of one by the other. In France, chiefly owing to that prostration of feudal rights, and that undermining of the nobler class, of

which national writers are so proud, Philip the Fair encountered no resistance worth recording. The classes of society, jealous of each other, were exultant in each other's downfal; the citizens applauded the humbling of the noblesse; the noblesse aided in the lowering of the clergy; whilst the crown with impunity pillaged all of property and rights, and threatened to reduce the country to Oriental servitude. There in time ensued a reaction, which prevented this from being so soon or at once accomplished. The aristocracy again sprung up to influence and power. But the legal and constitutional path was lost, and with it the possibility of reconciling in a practical constitution the conflicting claims and rights of different orders. The result was a century of anarchy to be followed by centuries of resuscitated despotism.

With respect to Guienne, the encroachment of the parliament of Paris upon its judicial independence began in the reign of St. Louis, and was most actively pushed in that of Philip the Hardy. Whoever was aggrieved in Guienne, whether feudal chief or convent or prelate, appealed to Paris, for they found it too often useless to apply to London. It was one of these appeals which compelled Edward, on his first accession, to crush the Count of Bearn. In 1275, the clerics of Aquæ in Gascony complained that Edward had sequestered their property. In the following year, Edward acquainted Philip that he might do what he pleased in the disputed matter of Fronsac. The French parliament proceeded further, and demanded a right of legislation over Guienne. A custom prevailed there of nobles, when accused of murder, being permitted to clear themselves by an oath of compurgation. Edward consented to reform this, whilst the Gascons protested against being delivered over to French jurisdiction. The Parisian legists poured in their summonses, wherever there were appeals. To these the English authorities or

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Gascons did not always pay attention, and the result was, sentences against them in the Paris Court, condemning them to fines, and even forfeiture. This abuse reached such a height, that in 1283, when Philip the Hardy was entering upon his war with Aragon, and felt the necessity of listening to Edward's complaints, he issued an edict or letter of discharge, ordering that in any case of appeals to the French courts from Guienne, no penalty or forfeiture should ensue to the seneschals or officers of England, *as long as Edward lived.* This evidently was done for the sake of establishing the right, and enforcing it in the ensuing reign. It is astonishing that a spirited prince like Edward should have suffered this. But in the same year Philip made some concessions respecting the lands or annuities which St. Louis had promised to restore. He, for instance, gave 3000 livres annual, in lieu of the claim on Cahors. Edward, on his side, continued to exert himself to bring about peace between France and the Spanish monarchs of Castille and Aragon. And as long as the war lasted, Philip did not disturb the accord between himself and the English monarch.

When the French king had extricated himself from the Aragonese war, and when the dispute with Sicily began to smoulder and die out, then indeed he seized the first opportunity of quarrelling with Edward, and robbing him of Guienne. The circumstances which enabled him to proceed in the enforcement of such claims, first arose in a quarrel which took place in 1293, between some English and French sailors at Bayonne. A French pilot was killed in the fray: his comrades avenged him by seizing an English pilot and hanging him, suspending a dog at the same time by his side in derision. These acts of violence were no sooner known in England, than all the sailors of the Cinque Ports resolved to avenge their countryman. They fitted out a fleet, and the Normans another. A naval battle ensued betwixt them, in

which the French were beaten, their vessels destroyed, and their sailors killed. The French legists, the law militant, instantly took up the quarrel of their countrymen. Philip's seneschals on the frontier summoned the Gascon sailors to answer before them, and seizing some, put them in the king's prison at Perigord. The Paris court summoned Edward himself. There being no answer to such summons, the parliament in the capital, and its officers in the provinces, thundered forth decrees of forfeiture against the English king, precisely according to the law and practice of the Roman Court in fulminating forth excommunications. The French officers found no difficulty in sequestrating the English monarch's property in Perigord and Anjou; they also threatened Bordeaux and the towns of Guienne.

Edward was sorely annoyed on receiving intelligence of these events. He was at the time completely absorbed in the Scottish war, directing to it all his resources and his energies; so that being called upon to defend Guienne, or go to war with France, was as foreign to his thoughts as injurious to his interest. He sent his brother Edmund to France to settle the matter, but this prince had evidently no knowledge or suspicion of the court and the legists with whom he had to deal. Edmund had married Blanche of Artois, the mother of the French queen, and of course was received as one of the family. The proposal with respect to the difference was, that Edward should espouse Philip's sister Margaret, and that Guienne should be settled on their issue. Edward knew the small value of Guienne, its distance from England rendering it indefensible, and he had no desire but to be rid of it honourably. The two queens, amongst themselves, charged by Philip to conduct the negotiation, approved of the arrangement that Edmund proposed, and there took place an exchange of papers tantamount to a solemn treaty between them. Previous to the conclusion of the treaty, Philip had

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given orders to his seneschals to attack Bordeaux and occupy it, with the other towns in Guienne. The queen promised Edmund that the order should be recalled or remedied, as soon as the agreement with her was concluded. But as there was some delay in this, the English court, to avoid fresh quarrels or collision, sent orders to its officers at Bordeaux and in other towns to offer no opposition to the French. It was notified to Philip that the treaty with Edmund was concluded, and that the order to his seneschals should be recalled. But Philip, who wanted not the reversion of Guienne, but the actual revenues of Bordeaux, declared that he knew nothing of the matter, that the queens were not empowered by him to negotiate, and that his constable had already advanced to execute orders. Raoul de Nesle, in fact, took tranquil possession of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and the fortresses of Guienne without resistance; and when assured of the accomplishment of this capture, Philip maintained that the forfeiture was complete, by reason of Edward himself not appearing, and that the French crown was (1294) henceforth lawfully possessed of the Duchy of Aquitaine. So disgraceful a trick has seldom been perpetrated by a sovereign. The moral laws which the Church had inculcated during the centuries of its predominance were often treacherous, violent and sanguinary; but ecclesiastics had never descended to a meanness like this, or for mere greed had cheated confiding relatives of what for centuries had belonged to them.

Edward could do no less than send his herald to France to disavow allegiance and amity. He collected what mercenaries he could and despatched them to Guienne, whilst by envoys he endeavoured to raise up continental princes against Philip. The fleet, which sailed from England in the direction of La Rochelle, first landed troops on the isle of Rhé, devastated and burned its towns, and then proceeded to the Garonne. The castle of Blaye surrendered to it, as well as three

or four towns on the river. Bordeaux it could not recapture, this city being strongly held by the Constable de Nesle. The English, however, fell back upon Bayonne, entered the town, and investing the castle, took it after an obstinate defence.

Philip then sent his brother Charles Count of Valois to reduce the towns of Gascony which still remained true to the English. He invested the castle of Riom, a town farther up the Garonne, whilst the Constable besieged Podenzae. This place the English surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart with their arms, but without enforcing the same stipulations for the Gascon commanders. These were accordingly taken and hanged in sight of Riom. The Gascons of the garrison rebelled in anger, and the English were compelled to fly. St. Sever also was taken by the Count of Valois, but was afterwards recaptured. In 1296 King Edward sent his brother Edmund to Gascony, whilst Robert Count of Artois commanded against him. Edmund was carried off by illness at Bayonne; and Robert of Artois defeated the English in the field, took John of St. John prisoner, the Earl of Lincoln and John of Brittany escaping with difficulty. This put an end to English resistance in the south.

At a time when the French monarchs were with such astuteness, violence, and success extending their dominions southwards, it is not to be supposed that their ambition was not equally active upon the northern and eastern frontier. King Charles of Anjou had almost conquered Hainault when the authority of St. Louis compelled him to desist. In 1292 Philip sent Charles of Valois with an army and compelled the Count of Hainault to come to Paris and do homage. Several intermarriages had taken place between the royal family of France and the ducal one of Brabant. Philip made attempts to deprive the Count of Bar of his territories, and extend his authority to Vendome. And offering

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his protection to the two counts who reigned in Franche Comté, he menaced to withdraw this ancient fief from the empire, as Charles of Anjou had almost deprived it of Provence. This encroachment on Franche Comté and the Duchy of Bar attracted the attention of Rudolph of Hapsburg, and that active prince marched an army to Besançon. Philip the Fair sent a summons to have it withdrawn; but Rudolph answered that he had not crossed the Rhine to dance, and that he awaited the King of France sword in hand. Philip made no reply to Rudolph, but when, after that emperor's death, Adolph of Nassau was elected emperor, with scarcely force sufficient to keep his crown, Philip renewed his relations with Franche Comté, and procured one of its princesses in marriage for his second son. Adolph, who styled himself King of the Romans, not having been yet crowned, sent a solemn missive to Philip in 1295, declaring that he would no longer endure the retention by the King of France of so many territories belonging to the empire. The French chroniclers relate that Philip answered by calling Adolph's proceeding *trop Allemand*, *too German*. This is a fiction: Philip returned an evasive but not uncourteous reply.

Edward conceived the hope of raising against Philip the Fair a league of German princes, similar to that which John had once excited against Philip Augustus, and which that monarch defeated at Bovines. The English king, with this view, paid a considerable sum to Adolph. But the German was lukewarm, the Pope was strenuously opposed to a war between France and Germany, and the emperor partly made use of the money which he received from Edward to make a purchase of Thuringia. Edward was more fortunate in securing the alliance of the Count of Flanders. As he had formerly made his marriage with Margaret of France the bond of alliance with Philip, he now proposed to marry the daughter of the Count of Flanders. The count con-

sented, but Philip enticed him to Paris, and then committed him to prison, not consenting to his liberation until his daughter came as a captive in his stead. Such treatment incensed Guy of Flanders, who renounced his allegiance, and in concert with Edward and the Germans prepared for war.

Popular and wealthy Flanders, supported by the English king and the German emperor, was evidently considered by Philip a more formidable foe than Guienne. And the French made every preparation. The first necessity was money, for it was rendered quite evident by his repeated ordinances, that to carry on war by mere feudal levies was hopeless and impracticable. His first measure was a recoinage. A royal edict was issued forbidding any one who had less than 6000 livres of yearly revenue to keep plate; one-third of what they had was instantly to be brought to the mint. The public was informed that the new money might be somewhat lighter than the old, but that those who received it should be indemnified:—how, was not very well explained.

The *maltôte* was, however, not discontinued; it was at first a hundredth, and afterwards a fiftieth, of all property. It was then raised to a twentieth. But the great innovation, in 1256, was its being levied indiscriminately on the goods of clergy and laity. This raised a storm, and placed King and Pope in the same open antagonism which had so long prevailed between Pope and Emperor.

The kings of France might be said to have owed everything to the Church and to Rome. The Capetian dynasty sprung up under its protection; the monarchy had raised itself above the aristocracy by its means; whilst the Roman Pontiffs in their struggles against the Emperor had never derived much assistance from France. It was the Popes who, by exposing Languedoc to the hostility of Europe, had made over to the King

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of France the whole country from the Loire to the Mediterranean. And it was the preponderance thus acquired by the French crown that rendered all efforts of the English to recover their continental dominions vain. The Pope had favoured the French king in his encroachments upon Germany. He gave him Provence, and tried to give him Aragon; he endowed Charles of Anjou with Sicily, and made the same prince master of Italy for a time. In return, it was a French monarch who dealt the Papacy the first fatal blow, who trod it under foot, and reduced it to the most ignominious and lasting servitude.

The commencement of the quarrel, which took place at the close of the fourteenth century, was this general tax upon clergy and laity. Pope Boniface had been till then most friendly to France, and anxious to observe towards its monarch the same kindness that his predecessors had shown. Philip, on his part, no doubt shared that general and growing feeling of disrespect for the Court of Rome, which was the result of its vindictive and profane policy. The wanton destruction of the Houses of Suabia and of Toulouse, with all the massacres perpetrated in those European wars by the Church of Rome, for its own positive interests, whilst the cause of Christendom was betrayed and allowed to perish in the East, were facts too glaring to be forgotten. They had produced an aversion for Rome, which the rapacity of its agents increased. The legist class had started up especially in France, to represent, to exaggerate, and to be themselves the instrument of this dislike, and they, no doubt, impelled Philip the Fair to set aside the old claims of the Church to immunity from taxation. The immediate consequence was, a papal bull, issued in 1296 by Boniface, which but too truly marks the spirit of the time. It began by admitting and complaining that the lay portion of society had become antagonistic to the clerical, and that the Church must do battle in its own

defence. The Pontiff therefore denounced the tithe or semi-tithe that the king had laid on the clergy, and excommunicated both those who should pay and those who exacted it.

Philip might have defended his decree by strong and tranquil argument. He might have pleaded that the land of every country was bound to its military defence; that in feudal times the Church had not shaken off those duties, and had furnished either its tenants or its substitutes and *avoués* for the king's armies. Now that feudal service was fast sinking into monied contribution, it became the duty of the clergy to pay as of the State to exact. These, however, were the same arguments which the German emperor had urged against the popes in vain. And neither Boniface nor Philip were endowed with that command of temper which might permit them to discuss national rights and necessities, so as to make the one accord with the other, as well as with the progress of their time. The King answered the Pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any money or valuables to be sent out of the kingdom: and the Pope refulminated another bull, reasserting all the unmitigated pretensions of the preceding century. It was such a bull as Innocent the Third might have issued against Raymond of Toulouse, when the popes certainly enjoyed the power of deposing monarchs. But a century had since rolled past, and carried away with it a great portion of the reverence paid, and the authority allowed, to Rome. Philip, therefore, persevered in his determination to tax the clergy; he at the same time publishing a number of ordonnances in their favour, protecting them from any arbitrary conduct of his own bailiffs, who, it would appear, did not scruple to seize the goods of the clergy to pay the tax. Philip restrained and regulated these seizures, and did all in his power to conciliate the national clergy.

Whilst preparing to reduce the Count of Flanders,

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the French king induced another noble, equally powerful, and hitherto even more independent, to rally to his support, and do homage to his crown. This was the Duke of Brittany, a province which originally followed the fate of Normandy, but which had maintained its independence of France by alliance with England. The loss of Guienne, however, and of all the English provinces in the vicinity of Brittany, left its duke isolated. The offers of France were therefore listened to. Philip guaranteed the Breton against any overweening encroachment by his court or parliament. The duke was given a French princess, and declared a peer of the kingdom of France.

The care and zeal which Philip the Fair showed in his preparations for war were answered by complete success. He mustered his troops at Compiegne, to the number of 1000 knights, and infantry proportionate. With these, in 1297, he entered Flanders, and laid siege to Lille, which was defended by Guy Robert, eldest son of the count. At the same time Robert of Artois, returning from Guienne and raising the forces of his county, invaded maritime Flanders, and took Furnes and Cassel. The only resistance made was by the Flemings of Furnes. They mustered 600 horse and 16,000 foot, but were defeated by Robert of Artois with great slaughter. Lille hearing this, surrendered. Edward arriving from England with a very small force in the midst of the disaster, king and count retired before the French to Bruges, where the King of France had insidiously represented himself as the protector of the municipal liberties and popular party. In consequence of their disasters, the English king and Flemish count were obliged to fly from Bruges to Ghent. There their hopes of resistance being no better, they sent to demand a truce. This, as it left Philip in possession of French and maritime Flanders, was too advantageous not to be accepted. And thus was Philip the Fair the victor in

a struggle with two potent monarchs, those of Germany and England; and conqueror of two great provinces, Gascony and Flanders. To crown his triumph, the Pope submitted; and, as Philip announced to his parliament, granted the tenth and whatever taxes necessary to the war, that might be demanded of the clergy.

All his foes, indeed, rendered powerless by the ability and success of Philip the Fair, submitted to him. Boniface, instead of an enemy, came forward as an arbiter, to put an end to the difference between the English and French Kings. Edward could not object, for he had become again involved in the difficulties of a Scottish war; nor did Philip show himself inveterate. He consented to a marriage not only between Edward and his sister, but to one between his daughter Isabel and Edward's son, the future Edward the Second.

One of the conditions of this agreement was similar to that which Philip had before consented to and broken; the restoration of Guienne. It was now to be placed in the hands of the Pope, and awarded by him in just delimitation.* Both the Pope and Philip left the question a long time in abeyance, and thus deferred the conclusion of a definitive treaty. The death of the Emperor Adolph in battle, and the election of Albert of Austria, whose cause Philip had favoured, restored peace also on the side of Germany. The two monarchs met in 1299 at Vaucouleurs, on which occasion, says Nangis, the frontier of France was extended from the Meuse to the Rhine. This somewhat exaggerated statement was, however, warranted by the acquisition of Lyons, the extension of French suzerainty over Franche Comté, and the submission of the Count of Bar.

The Count of Flanders had not been included in the

* The Pope, however, wrote to Philip, that he would not give final judgment with respect to Guienne without first consulting the French king and obtaining his consent to the judgment. So one-sided was the Papal arbitrage.

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pacification by Edward. Charles of Valois entered that county with a French army in 1299, and defeated the young count. The next year he took Dam, and was preparing to follow up his successes by the reduction of Ghent and of Ypres. Offers were made at the same time to Charles of Valois by the Pope, to give him, if he would bring a French army over the Alps, the same position in Italy which Charles of Anjou had held. The Count of Valois, therefore, in order to terminate the war in Flanders, offered to its prince his restoration if he would submit to the king, and surrender his remaining towns. To this the Count of Flanders, worn by age and misfortune, consented, and repaired to Paris with his son.

Philip, however, paid no regard to the promises of the Count of Valois, and with his wonted perfidy consigned the princes of Flanders to prison. The Flemings were not so much attached to them as to repine or rebel. If we may believe Villani, the magnates, or rich citizens of the Flemish towns, were inclined to France, and desirous of making use of the king's power to keep down the influence of the democracy. Philip visited these cities in 1301, received their homage, and confirmed their privileges. But his greed and his queen's jealousy were excited by the display of the riches which they beheld. The Flemings knew not the master they had given themselves, nor did the monarch know the subjects he had acquired. Philip gave them Jacques de St. Pol as governor.

Thus the dominions of the King of France extended from the Mediterranean to the Scheldt, if not altogether, as Nangis boasted, from the ocean to the Rhine. The monarchy at the close of the thirteenth century had, in fact, very nearly attained the developement which it was enabled to consolidate but several centuries later. Its rapid growth and wide expansion at that early period were premature. Neither the mili-

tary force nor the administrative science of the time were equal to the task of holding together and managing so vast a monarchy; and we shall find the kings of France throughout the fourteenth century chiefly employed in undermining and undoing all those works of despotism, aggrandisement, and of centralisation, which had progressed without interruption to the period which we have recounted. Even Philip the Fair, with all his skill and power, could not maintain either the absolute power or the empire which he had completed. He soon had Flanders torn from his immediate rule, and found himself compelled to call around him and consult those classes and those assemblies to which, in the commencement of his reign, he had not deigned to communicate intelligence, much less power.

Notwithstanding the first brief quarrel between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface, the latter had not ceased to shower favours upon the royal family of France. He canonized St. Louis, and promised to make Charles of Valois the first monarch of Christendom. That prince had journeyed to Rome, and espoused the granddaughter of Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople. The Pope created him Imperial Vicar, and commanding the revenues of a French prince, he was to be the generalissimo of the Pope. Charles, who brought with him five hundred horse, and a proportionate number of infantry, first tried his efforts against Florence, into whose walls he was received, and from which he expelled the faction of the Bianchi. But unable to quell its discords, he thence transported his army to Sicily. Frederic of Aragon, king of that island, avoided any regular engagement with the French knights, but confining his efforts to a guerilla warfare, rendered the soil of Sicily untenable by its French invaders. Charles therefore patched up a peace and returned to France. The Italians said that he came to Florence as a pacificator

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and excited war, whilst he went to Sicily as a warrior and achieved nothing but a disgraceful peace.

Charles of Valois's hurried pacification and return from Italy was, no doubt, hastened by a fresh quarrel that had broken out between the Pope and the King of France. This more serious dispute sprung, as if by just retribution, from the joint conquest which King and Pope had in the last century made of Languedoc. During the crusade against Toulouse, when the northern French under De Montfort had proved unable to overcome the resistance of the Albigenses, the monks and prelates had become feudal chiefs, had appropriated castles and baronies with their titles. One of these was the County of Melgueil, then considered a fief of the church of Maguelonne, and of the Pope. The Count of Narbonne, the chief seigneur of the district, refused to acknowledge pope or prelate as suzerain of the fief. And similar disputes arose between the Count de Foix and De Saisset, bishop of Pamiers. This ecclesiastic had been archdeacon of diocese of the Narbonne, and seems to have been untaught and unaware of the great increase of reverence and dignity which had accrued to the kings of France. Boniface unluckily chose this man, in 1301, for his legate in France and his envoy at the court of Philip. De Saisset addressed the monarch in the tone and language often employed, and successfully, by churchmen in the preceding century. He treated the king as a sinner and a criminal, and reproached him with his treachery to the Count of Flanders. On another occasion he is said to have called him a false coiner.

Philip the Fair, however prudent and astute, was still often precipitated by passion into most important acts. In a more circumstantial account of his reign and life, the cause of his fresh quarrel with the Pope and his future animosity to the Templars would be perhaps apparent; but much obscurity hangs over it. Un-

doubtedly his lawyers inspired him with exalted ideas of his royal supremacy. He was to them the Cæsar, the fountain of all law and right. And either feudal or ecclesiastical resistance to the sovereign, however warranted by the feudal traditions of the monarchy, were considered as treason by the exhumers and reverers of Justinian. On the other hand, Boniface entertained as overweening ideas of papal supremacy as Philip of kingly power. He showed on many occasions that he considered the Papacy entitled to dictate and overrule monarchs even in matters unconnected with religion. In one of his conversations with Pierre Flotte, the French chancellor, despatched to him by the king, Boniface asserted that his authority was both spiritual and temporal. "It may be so," replied Flotte, "but your holiness's right is a mere verbal one; my master's is the real authority." Such pretentions had been submitted to by powerful kings; but Philip was taught by his legists the full difference between temporal and spiritual; and he resolved to teach the popes the nature of a distinction which they evidently overlooked. When the Bishop of Pamiers, therefore, thought fit to animadvert, and in uncourtly language, on several acts of the king's government, exclusively secular, the monarch's ire was raised. The bishop, though a Languedocian, affected to deny the king's authority in the south, and to maintain that he even held his episcopal lands of the Holy See, not of the crown. In former times when a king was aggrieved by his prelates, he could appeal, like Henry, to his knights to avenge him. Philip applied to his lawyers; and they immediately undertook to get up a prosecution against the Bishop of Pamiers.

Nothing was more easy than to raise a score of accusations; and the parliament sent down two officers to collect testimony. In those days attestation of almost any crime might be obtained by the use of favour or intimidation. In the present cause witnesses not only

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repeated every imprudent speech of the bishop against the king, but furnished proofs of his endeavours to induce the barons of the south to league against the crown. It was the churchmen, in their proceedings against the Albigenses, who invented the mode of proving words or opinions of any kind to have emanated from the victims they wished to destroy. This system of procedure, by extorted and distorted testimony, was now turned against the clergy themselves. The Bishop of Pamiers was arrested, and with as little ceremony as one of his predecessors would have shown to a heretic. Brought before the king's court at Senlis, the bishop refused to answer, and he was committed to the guard nominally of the Archbishop of Narbonne, though really kept by the king in the bailiwick of Senlis. The legists were for proceeding at once to sentence and punishment. But the king refused, and sent his chancellor, Pierre Flotte, to request the Pope to deprive the bishop of his clerical character, in order that he might be punished by the secular arm. The Pope seems not to have awaited Flotte's arrival to address a letter to the king, invoking the universal immunity of prelates from arrest, and commanding him to liberate the Bishop of Pamiers, and allow him to proceed to Rome, the only tribunal before which a prelate could be tried. Boniface at the same time threatened Philip with the canonical consequence of violating the rights of the Church, and prepared for fulminating an interdict, by recalling what he had granted the King of France at the conclusion of the former quarrel, an exemption from such penalty in consequence of his raising subsidies upon the clergy. The Pope also forbade the king to proceed to the collation of any benefice; and he finally summoned the prelates, magistrates, and professors of France to proceed to Rome in the following November.

The last menace was serious. The Pope proposed

holding a council of French clergy to inquire into the conduct of the royal officers towards them, and to make manifest the encroachments and violence of which they had been guilty. It was a direct attempt against the French legists and parliament. The Pope also addressed a bull to the monarch himself, recapitulating every act of his misgovernment and injustice not only against the Church, but against nobles and people. He accused Philip of his exactions, of his prohibition to trade, of his adulteration of the coin, of his creating a system and a court of justice, in which he, the monarch, was at once the party and the judge. He told Philip not to be mad enough to imagine himself independent of his ecclesiastical superior, whose rights he so completely set at defiance. To the Pope alone, he asserted, belonged collation to benefices, yet whenever a papal appointment took place before a regal one, no account was taken of the former. Under pretext of the *Regale* the king's officers pillaged the Church and its revenues. The Pope would take counsel with the clergy of France upon all these grievances, and then pronounce judgment. The King of France might be present, if he desired, either in person or by deputy. CHAP. VIII.

Here was the Papacy and the Crown of France in as direct antagonism as had ever been Pope and Emperor. The collection of the royal ordonnances in the first year of the century bear witness to the monarch's anxious desire to conciliate his own clergy. Successive edicts guaranteed the churches of Normandy, of Languedoc, of Rheims, of Narbonne, against the encroachments of royal seneschals and *baillis*. And the great ordonnance of reform issued in 1302 contains many clauses in favour of the clergy. The policy of Philip the Fair was to protect them, like other classes of his subjects, in their rights, but at the same time make them contribute to the burdens and defence of the state. The Bishop of Pamiers was now released, but the king,

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enlarging on the policy of the Pope, who appealed to the French clergy, appealed himself to all classes of the French, and summoned, for the first time, the three estates to assemble in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in April 1302. On a former occasion Philip the Hardy had summoned the nobles and clergy. In the present quarrel not only the clergy, but the noblesse, might be considered as having special causes of complaint against the legists and the magistrates of the king; those who profited most by the anti-feudal and anti-ecclesiastic policy and laws of the seneschals and *baillis* were the inhabitants of towns. And these, accordingly, were now summoned by the ordonnances of Philip to assent and give their opinion, simultaneously with the nobles and the clergy.

Previous to the assembling of the estates, the king caused the last bull of the Pope to be burnt in the presence of the court and people, a novel and remarkable proceeding. At the same time a kind of summary of the bull, or of its arguments, was prepared by the chancellor, the condensation of papal pretensions being not ill calculated to disgust opinion in France, at that time far more loyal than devout. In this summary the Pope is made to tell the King of France that he is subject in temporal matters as well as in spiritual; that the conferring of benefices and prebendaries belonged to the Holy See; that if the king had the guard of them, it was but to preserve them for future incumbents, and that if the monarch had conferred any benefice, such grant was null. A fitting and corresponding reply by royalty was joined to this, letting the Pope's "fatuity know that the king was subject to none but God in temporal matters, that the conferring of benefices belonged to the crown by right, and that this right would be maintained." *

* Dupuy has collected all the information and documents respecting this dispute, and they form a goodly volume.

Pierre Flotte, the chancellor, spoke in much the same terms to the assembled states. He enlarged upon the evil designs of Rome against the Gallican Church, the Pope reserving so many bishoprics and preferments for strangers, who resided out of the kingdom, that prelates had no means of promoting the deserving ecclesiastics of their own diocese. The local and national clergy were in all preferments set aside, and these heaped upon the Pope's creatures: archbishops had now no power over bishops, who looked and appealed to Rome. It was the king's intention to right the wrongs of the national clergy if the Pope would allow him.

This appeal, principally addressed to the clergy, was enthusiastically answered by the nobles, in whose name Robert Count of Artois made offer of their lives and substance for the king's defence—if the monarch was prepared to dissemble or endure the encroachments of the Pope, his nobles were not. The *Tiers Etat*, or the deputies of the towns, were as ardent for "the liberty," that is, the independence, of the kingdom. The clergy alone asked for time to prepare an answer; but being pressed, they admitted that they were also obliged to defend the king and the national liberties, many of them having taken an oath to that effect for the counties, baronies, and fiefs which they held. Each of the estates then withdrew, in order to prepare letters expressive of their declared sentiments. The nobles addressed theirs to the cardinals of the Church of Rome, complaining of the Pope's conduct, and saying that none but anti-Christ would have been guilty of such deeds. This expression, attributed by Dupuy to the assembled nobles of France, is a remarkable reproduction of the old reproach of the Albigenses. The commons also addressed their letters to the cardinals, and were, it appears, still more disrespectful to his Holiness, the cardinals in their answer complaining of this, whilst denying that the Pope had ever claimed tem-

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poral jurisdiction over the crown or kingdom of France. The prelates took the opportunity of disapproving of the Bishop of Pamier's mission; they demanded that the Gallican Church should be left entire, and themselves dispensed with proceeding to Rome. After making their declaration and drawing up these letters, the first States General of France were dismissed. The Pope made answer to the French clergy in a style neither consistent nor temperate. He accused that Belial, Pierre Flotte, of misrepresenting him, yet insisted that the grand distinction of the Chancellor between things temporal and spiritual was a Manichean heresy, implying that there were two principles. As the conclusion to these singular premises, the Pope boasted that he would dethrone Philip; by raising up numberless enemies to him, both on the side of England and of Germany, who would soon show him how much the power of a king of France could avail against that of a Sovereign Pontiff.

Boniface was not wrong in thus pointing out the weakness of Philip the Fair. At the time of the assembling of the States General word must have reached him of a movement of the Flemings against his lieutenants, and the massacre of a considerable number of his soldiers.

"It has been related," writes Villani, "how the King of France obtained the signory of Flanders, the count and his two sons remaining in his prisons, his officers and his *baillis* occupying the county; and how the weavers and fullers, the butchers, shoemakers and others, petitioned against the taxes on their trades and those upon the land, which were insupportable. These grievances were neither listened to nor rectified. On the contrary, the king's *baillis*, at the prayer of the grandee citizens and in return for their money, put the chiefs of these trades and of the lower orders of the people in prison. These chiefs were Pierre Konig, weaver, and Jean Bride, butcher. Konig was small

and spare, blind of an eye and more than sixty, spoke no language save Flemish, but with all that was powerful to stir the whole country."

At the news that these heads of trades were arrested and in prison, the people of Bruges rose in insurrection, overpowered with ease the small force that the governor, Jacques de St. Pol, had at his disposal, and liberated the prisoners. Both parties repaired to Paris, where the Parlement gave sentence against the people. When this was known, the *commune* armed all the citizens adhering to it, and the few French having already evacuated Bruges, the people marched to the neighbouring towns, of which they slew the *baillis*, killing the rich proprietors who dwelt in the country. To put a stop to these disorders Jacques de St. Pol raised a force of 1500 knights, with a body of infantry, and entered Bruges. No resistance was offered, and the palace of the municipality was occupied by the French. The town seemed resigned to its fate, when it began to be rumoured that St. Pol had not concealed his intention of hanging a certain number of the citizens on the following day. The Bruges folk determined to anticipate such acts of vengeance. Pierre Konig reappeared amongst them, and his insurrection was speedily organised. The newly arrived French force was surprised, the horses and accoutrements of the knights seized by the conspirators, whilst the soldiers, making an effort to muster on foot, were cut in pieces or stoned. The bodies of 1200 knights and of 2000 infantry strewed the streets of Bruges: Jacques de St. Pol, who had been lodged near the gates, escaped.

Such an outrage upon the crown of France, and upon its army, could not but bring upon Flanders all the forces that Philip was able to muster. The Flemings prepared to resist the storm. They chose Guy of Juliers, grandson of the Count of Flanders, to be their commander. Though a cleric, he did not hesitate to

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obey the call, in order to avenge his family, so cruelly betrayed by the French king. His brother, made prisoner at Furnes by the Count d'Artois, had perished in that rude prince's keeping. His first attempt was to induce the people of Ghent to join the insurrection; but its rich burgesses preferred French rule to that of the Count of Flanders. Bruges, however, was supported by all the lesser and maritime towns of Flanders. Guy of Namur, a son of the Count, who had escaped to Germany, also returned with a body of soldiers from that country, and reassured the Flemings. These surprised one of the ducal manors, in which were 500 French, and then took Courtray, occupying the town but not the castle. It was immediately besieged, as well as that of Cassel, the people of Ypres rallying to the Flemish cause. The French garrison of the town of Courtray sent pressing messengers for aid, and Robert of Artois marched with 7000 knights and 40,000 foot, of which one-fourth were archers. The Flemish were but 20,000, of which none but the chiefs had horses. Neither were their armour or their weapons of a perfect kind, the latter being a lance like a boar spear, or a knotted stick pointed with iron, and called in Flemish a *good day*. The Princes of Juliers and Namur posted their combatants on the road which leads from Courtray to Ghent, behind a canal that communicated with the river Lys. A priest came with the host, but there being no time to receive the communion, each man took some earth in his mouth. The counts then knighted Pierre Konig and the chiefs of bands, and took their station on foot with the rest.

The French had nine battalions or divisions, their archers or light troops being Lombards or Navarrese and Provençals. These the constable placed foremost, to commence the fight and harass the Flemings by their missiles. But the Count d'Artois overruled this ma-

nœuvre, and called it a Lombard trick, reproaching the Constable de Nesle with appreciating the Flemings too highly because of his connexion with them. (He had married a daughter of the Count of Flanders.) "If you advance as far as I shall," replied the count, "you will go far enough, I warrant." So saying he put spurs to his horse, and led on his knights; on which the Count d'Artois and the French squadrons charged also. This formidable cavalry could not reach the Flemings, but fell one over the other into the canal, which they had not perceived, and which was five fathoms wide and three deep. The Flemish counts, seeing the disorder, instantly passed the canal on either side to take advantage of it, and fell on the discomfited French. The battle was but a massacre. Numbers of the French nobles perished; the Count d'Artois, Godfrey of Brabant and his son, the Counts of Eu and of Albemarle, the constable and his brother, De Tanquerville, Pierre Flotte, the chancellor, and Jacques de St. Pol, in all some 6000 knights. Louis of Clermont and one or two others escaped, to the damage of their reputation. This battle of Courtray was fought on the 11th of July, 1302.

Had the war not been one exclusively of defence on the part of the Flemings, or had they had ambitious and adventurous chiefs, such a disaster might have endangered the throne of France. It was the Flemish democracy which had conquered, and its chiefs contented themselves with reducing the remaining cities, and expelling the gentry and rich citizens as of French inclinations. This reaction extended from Flanders into Brabant and Hainault. Philip in the meantime exerted all his activity and resources. Had he been an English king he would have called his parliament together, and have found national support and national supplies. The French king preferred having recourse to a recoinage.

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In 1294 he had forbidden any persons to keep plate unless they possessed an annual revenue of 6000 livres. He now ordered his *baillis* to deliver up their plate, and all non-functionaries to send half of theirs. Those who did so received payment in the new coin, and lost one-half thereby. A tax of one-fifth, or twenty per cent. of the annual revenue, was levied on the land, and a twentieth was levied on moveable property. In the following year the king found it more advantageous to order that all prelates and barons should, for every 500 livres of yearly revenue in land, furnish an armed and mounted gentleman for five months' service, whilst the non-noble was to furnish and keep up six infantry soldiers (*sergens de pied*) for every hundred hearths. This decree was a return to feudal military service, occasioned, no doubt, by the general disaffection caused by the raising of the war supplies in money. As if to recompense all classes for the severity of the exaction, Philip published an ordonnance of reform for the protection of both laymen and ecclesiastics from the arbitrary encroachments or interference of his officers.

Having thus set his realm in order, and collected an army of 70,000 men at Arras, the king marched to meet the Flemings, who in equal force had mustered in the vicinity of Douai. They kept, as at Courtray, on the defensive; and the King of France, too cautious to attack them, allowed the whole autumn to pass, and returned to France after a campaign as inefficient as inglorious.

It was at this period that Bordeaux flung off the yoke, and expelled the garrison of the French king, which led to the restoration of Guienne, and a treaty of peace between the two crowns. But the Pope menaced to become a more dangerous enemy than either English or Flemings. Boniface had been endeavouring to persuade the French prelates to proceed to Rome in order to form the council which was to pronounce judg-

ment in his dispute with Philip. The king maintained his decree, forbidding them to quit the country, and ordered the passes to be guarded, in order to intercept them. The Pope declared that such a prohibition brought down upon him who issued, as well as upon those who obeyed, a sentence of excommunication. A legate was despatched to France to complain and remonstrate with Philip on his conduct, whilst secretly he urged the departure of the prelates for Rome. The king was able to set aside most of these demands or complaints as contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis. He explained the burning of the Pope's bull by saying that it had been invoked by the Bishop of Laon against the sheriffs, and that it thus came on an appeal before parliament, which ordered it to be destroyed, as contrary to the law of the land. Thus the burning of the bull had probably been a parliamentary proceeding, imagined and executed by the legists. The Pope, dissatisfied with the explanations, and encouraged by the presence of some forty bishops of the South of France, issued another bull, forbidding the clergy to say mass before the king, or allow him to participate in the sacrament.

Whilst the Pope, with his council of French prelates, was thus fulminating his decrees preparatory to the final sentence of downright excommunication and deposition, Philip summoned his prelates and nobles again in the spring of 1303. Before this assembly Nogaret, who had succeeded Pierre Flotte, brought forward a solemn accusation of the Pope for having procured his election by fraud and violence, and for being guilty of heresy and simony. Of these crimes he was ready to impeach the Pope before a General Council in order to deliver the Church from his oppression. This solemn impeachment was not followed up at the time, nor did the king appear in it. But when the Pope launched forth his bull of almost excommuni-

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cation, the king summoned the same assembly to meet once more in the month of June.

Nogaret had gone upon a mission to Italy, and it was a noble, the Seigneur de Plessis, who came forward as the accuser of the Pope. The crimes now laid to the charge of Boniface were of great enormity: he was not only heretic and simoniac, but a sorcerer, a sensualist of the most infamous kind, a disbeliever in the Eucharist and in the immortality of the soul. In short, he denounced the Pope as guilty of whatever crime passion could suggest. This time the king rose and adopted the proposal for a general council, to which he appealed with the Lord de Plessis, and which he declared he would attend. The prelates present also approved this proposal of appealing to a future council, as the best mode of extricating themselves from the difficult position. And when they accepted it, the king sent commissioners throughout the country to demand adherence to the appeal. They collected more than seven hundred acts of the kind from prelates, chapters, colleges, and monks of all orders, hospitallers and knights of St. John of Jerusalem included.

Notwithstanding this marshalling of royal and lay rights as well as of the judicial and noble authorities of the nation against the pretensions of the Pope, Philip feared the effects of his denunciations, and he resolved to meet them, as the emperor had frequently done, by violence. William of Nogaret had been despatched to Italy. Singular to say, both he and Plasian, the two legists who were most violent against Boniface, were descendants of Toulousan Albigenses, who thus gladly avenged their ancestral wrongs upon the Pope. Nogaret went to Italy, accompanied by Musciato, the great Florentine banker in Paris, and both fixed their quarters at a castle between Florence and Sienna, belonging to Musciato. The great enemies of the Pope were the Colonna, whom he had persecuted

and exiled, and treated with such injustice that one of the family had passed years rowing on the benches of a Saracen galley, rather than liberate himself by confessing who he was. When the Pope showed himself quite intractable, Nogaret and Musciato procured the service of this very person, Sciarra Colonna, and enabled him to raise a body of horse. The Pope had retired to Anagni, his native town, where he considered himself more safe than amidst the people of Rome. Nogaret purchased the good will of all who had authority in Anagni; and on the 8th of September the armed conspirators broke into the town, entered forcibly the houses of several cardinals and that of the Pope, whom they made prisoner. Nogaret hoped to get quiet possession of his person, but it was necessary to overcome so much resistance that it was the soldiers of Sciarra and Sciarra himself who made and held him captive. When these menaced the Pope to take his life if he would not resign the pontificate, Nogaret defended him from violence, and told Boniface that he it was and the King of France who still saved and protected him. Boniface replied that he was ready to perish by the hands of Patherins and Albigenses, like Nogaret. The agent of Philip thus knew not well how to deal with the Pope, whom he had to protect from the violence of Colonna, yet whom he could induce to make no submission. In this perplexity he remained three days, when at last the people of Anagni, who had first favoured the conspirators, seeing that they knew not how to make use of their opportunity, rose against them, and driving away the soldiers of Colonna, liberated the Pope. Boniface, who was of a very advanced age, that of eighty-five, did not recover the fright, the turmoil, and ill-usage to which he had been subjected. When liberated, his first impulse was to pardon his enemies, rather than avenge his wrongs. But afterwards he fell into frenzy at the recollection of the indignities he had

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suffered, and expired at Rome about a month after he had been made captive.

Benedict the Eleventh, the successor of Boniface, seemed a temperate and a wise man. He was most willing to recal and reverse all that was exorbitant in the demands and extravagant in the assertions of his predecessor; he could not but vindicate his memory and resent his death. He soon abandoned the decree of excommunication against Philip and those who adhered to him. The cardinals Colonna were restored to their property and rights; but towards Nogaret Pope Benedict remained even more inexorable than Boniface, and maintained the excommunication against him. And as Nogaret knew how to interest the king in his favour, French animosity continued as lively as that directed against his predecessor. Philip put the Pope's amity to the proof, by requesting him to abet the plan of Charles of Valois to secure Constantinople, and to preach a crusade as well as grant the clerical contribution necessary for its support. Benedict rather evaded than refused, and was soon after carried off, it was alleged, by poison. Philip saw thus terminated the papal quarrel, which he had evidently at first regarded as fraught with extreme danger; although determined to defend the rights of his crown, he did not shrink from the consequences. The struggle of the Emperor against papal pretensions of the same kind, and sustained by popes of a similar temper as Boniface, had proved fatal to more than one imperial dynasty. But the truth was, that Germany wanted that unity and nationality, which would have enabled it to resist as one body the pretensions of Rome. The French possessed these, and Philip might have overcome the arrogance and encroachments of Pope Boniface without recurring to the violence of past ages. A century previous, indeed, the exploit of Nogaret of Anagni would have afforded a triumph to the Popedom, instead of prompting Philip,

as his successes did, to a scheme for confiscating the papal power to his own profit.

Delivered from the menacing hostility of Rome, Philip had leisure to turn his mind and efforts towards Flanders. During the year 1303 he had sought to keep the Flemings at bay by bodies of Lombard and Tuscan infantry, whom his Florentine banker persuaded him to hire, and by Amadeus the Fifth, Duke of Savoy, who brought soldiers of that country to his aid. Although the long lances and more perfect armour of these troops gave them some advantage over the Flemings, the latter took and burnt Therouanne, overran Artois, and laid siege to Tournay. Amadeus of Savoy, unable to overcome the Flemings by arms, recommended Philip to do so by treaty. And the king accordingly concluded a pacification, one condition of which was that the Count of Flanders should be released from prison to negotiate terms of fresh accommodation. The Flemings received their aged count with respect; but he brought no terms which they were willing to accept; and he returned, as he had pledged his word, to captivity at Compiegne, where he soon after died.

For the campaign of the following year Philip, in lieu of Italian infantry, took sixteen Genoese galleys into his pay, commanded by Rainier de Grimaldi. This admiral passed through the straits of Gibraltar, and assailed the maritime towns and shipping of Flanders. Guy of Namur mustered to oppose them a fleet of greater numbers; but the Genoese, accustomed to naval warfare, defeated the Flemings, and took Guy of Namur prisoner. Philip, at the same time, assembled a large army at Tournay, and marched to Mons la Puelle, near Lille, where the Flemings to the number of 70,000 were encamped within a circumvallation of cars and chariots. There was no Robert of Artois on this occasion to precipitate a rash onslaught. And by Philip's order the southern light troops harassed the Flemings all day

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with arrows and missiles, allowing them no repose. Towards the evening many of the French withdrew to refresh themselves and take off their armour: the king himself was of this number; the Flemings, perceiving this slackness, and divining the cause, poured forth from their encampment in three divisions, which at first drove all before them, and reached as far as the king's tent, then in full preparation for supper. The monarch himself, without armour or helmet, was fortunately not recognised; his secretary, De Boville, and two Parisians of the name of Gentien, whom Philip had always about his person, were slain before his eyes. The king withdrew, but it was to arm, mount on horseback, and cry out to his followers to stand their ground. He himself, says Villani, "one of the strongest and best made men of his time," fought valiantly until his brother Charles and most of the barons, recovering from the first panic, came to his rescue, and the Flemings were finally repulsed and put to the rout. William of Juliers fell on the side of the Flemings; the son of the Duke of Burgundy and many others on that of the French. Philip immediately laid siege to Lille, deeming the Flemings totally discomfited. They had, however, rallied, obtained reinforcements at Bruges and at Ghent, and in three weeks appeared to the number of 50,000 before the king's camp at Lille, crying for *battle.* Philip called a council, and observed that "even a victory would be dearly purchased over a party so desperate."

The Duke of Brabant and the Count of Savoy therefore undertook to negotiate with the Flemings, and Philip consented to grant them fair terms. He recognised their independent rights, agreed to liberate Robert, eldest son of Guido Count of Flanders, as well as all those in captivity. He granted Robert and his son the fiefs which belonged to him in France, especially that of Nevers, and promised to give him investiture of the

county of Flanders. The Flemings, on their side, consented to pay 200,000 livres, and to leave the King of France in possession of the three towns of Lille, Douai, and Bethune, that part of Flanders in which French was spoken. It was thus, at least, that the French interpreted the treaty, whilst the Flemings afterwards alleged that French Flanders was merely a pledge for the payment of the money, not an alienation to the crown of France.

During the last eight or nine months of this war the cardinals were assembled at Perugia for the purpose of electing a successor to Benedict the Eleventh. So balanced and inveterate were the parties which divided the conclave, that an election seemed hopeless. The King of France had so completely succeeded to the old position of the emperor in Italy, that the Ghibellines adhered to him. He was represented in the conclave by the Cardinal del Prato, and in Rome by the Colonna. Gaetano, a nephew of Pope Boniface, was the chief of the Sacerdotal party. Finding it impossible to fix upon the same person for the future Pope, they agreed that the Italians or Sacerdotals should name three French prelates, and of these their antagonists should select one, to be declared Pontiff. The bishops in the South of France had most of them rallied to Boniface, and the cardinals thought it advisable to name three of the Gascon prelates, all inimical to Philip. Of the three the partisans of France in the conclave fixed upon Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux. He had been a special enemy of Charles of Valois and of the French court; but, says Villani, "was known to be a Gascon greedy of honours and riches, and most likely to come to terms with Philip of France." A messenger was despatched to the king at Paris, which reached him in eleven days from Perugia. Philip hastened southwards, summoning the archbishop to meet him at St. Jean d'Angelys. After hearing mass together, the

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king informed the prelate that he could make him Pope on six conditions,—which were, that he should reconcile the king to the Church, take off the excommunication of his followers, grant the tax of the clergy for five years, condemn the memory of Bonifice, restore the Colonnas, and appoint certain other cardinals in the French interest. The sixth condition Philip reserved, and it was agreed that he should not mention it for the present. But to this, as well as the five other demands, Bertrand swore assent on the Holy Sacrament. Some historians deny the meeting, but not the accord; upon which Bertrand was duly elected Pope, and was consecrated in the church of St. Just at Lyons in the presence of Philip. The Italians, on learning this, exclaimed that the Papacy had been transported beyond the Alps. Clement the Fifth, as the new Pope was called, raised on the occasion a number of French and Gascon prelates to the cardinalate, thus giving them the advantage in all future elections. After residing some years at Bordeaux and at Poictiers, where the king retained him almost captive, Clement the Fifth fixed his residence at Avignon, a city which the Popes had acquired as part of the spoil of Raymond of Toulouse. Here the Papacy lingered for three quarters of a century; and here, divorced from Italy, subservient to the Court of France and its own pleasures, Petrarch found the Pontifical Court, and portrayed it with strokes as indelible and colours as dark as those which Dante employed in the preceding age.

It is difficult to account for the inveteracy with which Philip and his legists pursued the memory of Boniface. That they should have spared no efforts, and listened to no scruples in overthrowing the living pontiff, can be understood; but what great advantage or satisfaction was to be derived from compelling Pope Clement the Fifth to fling disgrace on the memory of his predecessor, does not appear. This was one of the

promises which Bertrand de Goth had made, and which it was most repugnant for him to fulfil, since every testimony taken, and every sentence passed for such purpose, must fling disgrace upon the Church and the Pontificate. Clement at first evaded the royal solicitations on this subject by referring the matter to a future council. And soon after, another monstrous trial and sacrifice arose to occupy the demoniac activity of Philip and his legists.

The age was one of reaction against the clergy, — a reaction that no one had more contributed to augment than Philip himself. But so much was he the creature of passion, the slave of his own omnipotence, that he struck on the right side or the left, as his ire or his caprice happened to be directed. A quarrel having arisen at Toulouse between Foulques, the chief inquisitor, and some of the Dominicans or preaching friars, one of the king's seneschals, John of Picquigny, took active part against the inquisitors. These were accused of making use of their power to imprison noble and ignoble, releasing those only who paid ransom. De Picquigny made a descent upon the prison of the Inquisition and liberated the prisoners. Philip, in his parliament, published on this occasion an ordonnance, so descriptive of the judicial mode of procedure of the time, that it is worth recording: —

"He, Foulques, commenced his processes by arrest and torture, for which he invented unheard-of torments. Those whom he accused of heresy were forced by torture to confess all that was laid to their charge, or if they stedfastly and courageously denied, false witnesses were suborned to bring forward evidence to condemn them." The ordonnance accordingly proceeded to forbid that any arrests should be henceforth made, save by order of the seneschal, and it withdrew the Jews altogether from the arbitrary jurisdiction of the inquisitor.

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Such legislation as this opened the hearts of the Languedocians to Philip, and they supported him with far more zeal than the northerns in his quarrel with Pope Boniface. The king, to show his gratitude, made a journey to the south,—confirmed most of the municipal privileges of the region, and acted the popular sovereign. This, however, was whilst the war of Flanders was raging, and to counteract the bad effect of the taxes which he was heaping on the towns of Languedoc. Whether, owing to the pressure of these, or to the opposition of the king and his functionaries to the exactions of the clergy, priests and magistrates of many cities in the south began to show turbulence, and it was said that even heresy revived. This the monarch found himself compelled to crush some years later, when many of the citizens and magistrates of Narbonne and Carcassonne were executed, and the towns deprived of their privileges.

The discontent of the civic classes with Philip in these later years of his reign was not confined to Languedoc. In 1306, a serious sedition broke out in Paris, occasioned by the adulteration of the coin. The householders, says the continuator of Nangis, demanded their rents in the old coin, as the king's edict warranted. This was tripling the price to the tenants, and the lower orders rose in consequence against the house proprietors and the king. They besieged the latter in the Temple, where he kept his treasure, and which was in fact his office of finance. The strength of the building protected Philip, but the mob wreaked their vengeance on one of his councillors, Stephen Barbette, a rich citizen, and destroyed his house in St. Martin in the Fields. The tumult soon abated, when Philip found no difficulty in seizing the most culpable, and hanging them to the trees which stood before the entrances to Paris.

There is no reign in French history so little illus-

trated by the pen of the chronicler as that of Philip the Fair. No knight or noble was the companion of his hours of either pastime or business, and no De Joinville could record his acts or his words; of the clergy he made no confidants. It is remarkable, that when his tent was surprised by the Flemings, the intimate attendants upon royalty who fell on that occasion were two citizens of Paris. Law and finance were his occupation and his pleasure, and those whom he trusted and consulted in these matters fell after Philip's death into the power of their enemies, and had their property and papers confiscated, so that no record remains except what was published in ordonnances or inserted upon the rolls of parliament.

We are therefore left to conjecture what was the origin of the deadly grudge which the monarch owed to the Templars. Their position was certainly one that excited envy. They possessed great wealth, both in landed revenues and hoarded coin, of which they were most chary. When St. Louis wanted money of them to pay his ransom in Egypt, it was only on the threat of breaking open their coffers that they advanced the sum demanded. Philip in his necessities must have felt irritated at his inability to tax this rich monastic order. He demanded to be admitted a knight of the Temple, but the fraternity respectfully declined the honour. Brother Hugh, visitor of the Temple, signed one of the collective letters of adherence to Philip in his quarrel with Pope Boniface, but that the order zealously supported him against the Pope may be doubted. Joined to any such personal objection to the Templars, there were no doubt public and just grounds of dissatisfaction with them. The order had been established and endowed on the express condition of defending the Holy Land, yet very few of them had been there in the last fatal years. Their occupation was now gone, Palestine being irrecoverably

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lost. And the presence of some 15,000 military monks, the greater number of them French, in Europe, might be cause of alarm, and could not be of advantage. They were accused, like all monks, of being untrue to their vows, and their lives and ceremonies in the interior of their religious houses were shrouded in mystery. Moreover, the Templars do not seem to have been so highly connected as has been alleged, or to have been chosen from the first ranks of the aristocracy. Guy, brother of the Dauphin of Auvergne, was in this respect the most eminent of the order. Of gentle birth they were no doubt; but a perusal of their interrogatories produces the conviction that they were illiterate men, of no superior minds or attainments, dignified neither by birth nor letters. It was impossible for such a class of men long to maintain so enviable a position. And when charges were brought against them, they were neither able to defend themselves, nor had they friends or connections to stand up for them.

The probability is, that it was their wealth that tempted Philip, who knew by experience the rich spoil that was to be won by confiscating the property of corporations or large bodies. He had seized the Italian bankers in the beginning of his reign. The plunder of the Jews had filled his treasury. The king always proceeded by stealth, crushing his victims unawares, lest they should secrete their property; and he pursued the same course with the Templars.

The first accusation against them was made by persons of the worst character, by the prior of Montfaucon, whom the grand master had degraded and condemned to prison, and by one Noffo Dei, or Squin. They, evidently to ameliorate their lot, announced that they had most fearful revelations to make against the Templars. The objectionable character of the informers in nowise abated the zeal of the king's legists or of the monarch himself. The charges were sufficient to ruin the order, and place it and its wealth at the king's mercy. As to truth or

justice, these never entered into the consideration of Philip; the sole care of the king was to get the treasure and the grand master of the order from Palestine to France. He then opened the matter to Pope Clement. The churchman endeavoured to pacify the vindictive ardour of the monarch; but, once embarked in a state prosecution, Philip knew no rest. He issued orders in October, 1307, for the simultaneous arrest of the Templars in all their chief residences on the same night. They were fully and successfully executed: the grand master and a hundred and forty knights were seized by Nogaret in the Temple of Paris at the appointed time. On the following Sunday the king caused to be publicly proclaimed in the palace hall and in the churches the crimes for which the Templars were accused and had been arrested. The accusation was, that every new recipient into the order of the Temple was made to spit upon the cross, tread upon it, and deny the Saviour, those refusing being thrown into a dungeon or condemned to die. Moreover that they worshipped a head, wore a string which was consecrated by having touched or encircled this head, and practised the most abominable and unnatural crimes.

These accusations, framed on the testimony of the two informers, were arranged in a list of questions, to produce affirmative answers to which the unfortunate Templars were subjected to the torture. The examiners and operators on the occasion were no other than the inquisitors, the same whom Philip's ordonnance had long since condemned. The mode of procedure then denounced was now adopted against the Templars. When the list of questions was put to them, the necessary consequence of their total denial was a continuance or aggravation of torture. Thirty-six of their number perished under the pressure of these torments in Paris.* The

* Triginta sex de dictis fratribus fuerunt mortui Parisiis per jainnam et tormenta. — *Procès des Templiers.*

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others, according to their powers of endurance or the cruelty of the inquisitors, confessed to a greater or fewer number of the charges. As to defence, it was out of the question: the court would not permit advocates "whose noise was not to be tolerated in cases of heresy." And Jacques de Molay, the grand master, asked "how could he prepare a defence, when kept a close prisoner without four pence?"* Charges equally heinous and almost of the same kind were, previously and subsequently, made against Pope Boniface by the same accuser, Nogaret, who arraigned the Templars; and had the trial proceeded, the Pope remaining in the power of the French lawyers, they could no doubt have proved those crimes in the same way as they proved them against the Templars. With trials conducted after the custom of the Inquisition, any crime might be proved against any person or number of persons accused. And what those crimes were, depended evidently on the imagination and rancour of the accuser, rather than on the guilt of the accused.

A great many theories have been propounded, and very diverse judgments passed, upon this subject. Those who altogether exculpate and those who totally condemn the Templars can make, each of them, a plausible case. But the supposition of complete innocence cannot do away with the numberless instances in which Templars admitted the spitting on the cross and the worship of the head; whilst the existence of this foolish rite cannot be explained as the initiation either into a secret religion or into a system and habits of gross sensuality. No evidence reveals these. Had a peculiar religion existed amongst the Templars, or such gross sensuality as parts of the initiation would imply, some proofs must have been elicited from a number of Templars who were anxious to purchase immunity by

* Literally four denarii. "Who loses freedom," (*libero arbitrio*) says one of the accused, "loses all means of defence, even the power of science and the use of intellect."

confession. The charges are almost exclusively confined to the initiatory rite, of which, it is quite evident, as Michelet says, the Templars themselves had lost the key. It is nevertheless difficult to consider it, with that historian, a mere symbol, of no more than dramatic origin or importance. The rite must have been a form of magic or incantation learned and first practised in Palestine; and witnesses alleged it to have originated with a grand master, who was prisoner of a Saracen. The form was a magical incantation intended for the protection of the order — a farce, as one of the Templars described it, in so far as it implied any disbelief in the Saviour or the cross — but still considered to be of salutary influence, like so many of the magical operations of the time; — an age in which men plotted to take each other's life by means of a waxen image which they pricked; an age in which a monarch, suspecting the fidelity of his wife, recurred to the *beguine* of a distant province, to tell him the truth and ease his mind on the subject; — in such an age the Templars might well have made use of Arabic or Gnostic rites, or they might wear an amulet, without comprehending their import, or without drawing from them any consequence with regard to their actual creed or their moral conduct. The detection of Gnostic symbols amidst the paraphernalia of an order which inhabited the East as their home, is not wonderful, but is far from implying a belief in Gnostic tenets. As little is it proved that the Templars were Manichean or Cathar.* Had these suppositions been true, the revelations and interrogatories would have extended further than their rules of reception. It is probable that Pierre de Bourgoyne, who was selected as the defender of the order, and who seemed to have been the only brother with a shadow of learning or education, would have explained the trivial nature of these

* Some of the Templars, however, confessed a disbelief in Transubstantiation, which was part of the creed of the Vaudois.

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rites to the satisfaction of the ecclesiastical tribunal; but Philip's legists stood too much in dread of any such explanation, to permit its being publicly made. And Pierre de Bourgoyne was accordingly made away with. This infamous and murderous suppression of the defence creates the strongest presumption of the innocence of the Templars in the main; that is, of the trivial and symbolical or magical nature of their introductory rites; and whatever may remain the opinion respecting the Templars, stamps upon Philip the Fair and his lawyers the stigma of being most vile and most unscrupulous assassins.

In his first judicial proceedings against the Templars, and on applying torture to so many of them, the king was aware that he was transgressing the privilege of ecclesiastics and of monks. He obtained a kind of sanction from the university to act thus in cases of heresy, on condition of referring afterwards to the Pope. Even Clement was shocked at the haste of the king and the cruelty of his legists, and he accordingly revoked the powers which he had given to the inquisitors and prelates. Philip remonstrated against his lukewarmness, and said that indulgence towards such criminals was connivance with them. He then took steps to do without the papal sanction, and not only made the university participate in his views, but he summoned an assembly of the States General to meet at Tours. Very few thought fit to attend, — either nobles, prelates, or townsfolk, — there being four hundred procurations forwarded. The assembly, thus composed principally of courtiers and functionaries, gave its full adherence to the wishes of the monarch, who strengthened by this kind of national vote, entitling him to dispense with the papal authority, proceeded to meet the Pontiff at Poictiers. The great reason of the Pope's distrust, and of the difference between him and Philip, was less any desire on the part of his Holiness to save the Templars, than a determination not to allow

the king to have all the spoil. Philip satisfied the Pope's scruples in this respect at Poictiers by promising and formally declaring that the goods of the Templars should be devoted exclusively to the recovery of the Holy Land. In consequence of this assurance, the Pope restored to the inquisitors the power of proceeding with the trial of the accused.

Notwithstanding this concession, Clement refused to sign any bull for the dissolution of the order. He could not but perceive, as time rolled on, that the king was in reality appropriating its resources to himself. He insisted on personally examining the Templars: the grand master and the chief officers were accordingly brought from Paris as far as Chinon, whither Clement sent cardinals to hear what they had to plead. The grand master and the officers confessed the crimes laid to their charge, no doubt on the understanding that they should be absolved. The cardinals kept their portion of the promise, which the Templars of course considered the term of their sufferings. But this would not warrant confiscation, nor confirm the monarch in the possession of his spoil; and the king insisted on the continuation of their trial. On thus feeling that faith was broken with them, the unfortunate Templars withdrew their avowals, and the Pope named an extraordinary commission to proceed to Paris and examine into the truth of the accusations urged against them, and the motives which had produced this confession.

Whilst the fate of the Templars was thus in abeyance, an event arose which allowed Philip to have full experience of the amity of the Pope. The Emperor Albert of Austria perished by the hand of an assassin in the spring of 1308. Philip lost no time in informing the Pontiff that the sixth condition, to which he had assented in return for his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, was that he should use his utmost endeavours to procure the election of Charles, Count of Valois, to the empire.

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This prince, like his uncle and namesake of Anjou, was always on the scent of great enterprises, chiefly those which Charles of Anjou himself had attempted. He had tried to become the master of Italy, to subdue Sicily, to conquer the Greek Empire: he now desired to be Emperor of Germany. Clement wrote glowing epistles in his favour, secretly warning those to whom they were addressed to make no account of them; and Henry of Luxembourg was accordingly elected to the Imperial throne. Clement removed to Avignon, a town in his own county of the Venaissin, at least out of the immediate jurisdiction of Philip. The latter, suspecting the Pope of insincerity in supporting Charles of Valois, avenged himself not only by pressing the trial of the Templars, but by insisting on the continuation of the trial for the degradation of the memory of Pope Boniface.

This trial was a struggle between Nogaret supported by the king on one side, and the memory of Boniface, to protect which his numerous friends exerted themselves on the other. Nogaret collected a mass of witnesses from Italy, who at first were waylaid and dispersed by the opposite party. But at last they were brought up, and their depositions made public. The charges against Boniface very much resembled those against the Templars: the testimony went to prove that he was abominably debauched and given to sorcery, that he denied the immortality of the soul and the reality of Christ's mission. To disprove such accusations was now impossible, and the friends of Boniface met them by repeating the same charges against the accuser, Nogaret. Had Philip sought to give even plausibility to the accusation against the Templars, he would have avoided this parody or repetition of a similar trial against the memory of a deceased pope. But the king and his legists had lost not only all sense of justice, but even of decency, in dispensing with it.

Vindictiveness, and the determination to carry a point or a decision, however monstrous and iniquitous, alone actuated the government of France, and the government was no other than the crown lawyers, Nogaret and Plasian.

Whilst the king's minister was thus, to save his own life and reputation, labouring to degrade and blacken the memory of a pope, the king himself had become a party in the more serious trial which accused and menaced the Templars. Too many of them had perished in tortures, and too much of their treasure had been seized to admit of the order being spared. Its exculpation would have been the king's condemnation. The commission of prelates named by the Pope to try the Templars began to hold its sittings in the autumn of 1309, and numbers of the order were brought before it. Almost all, finding themselves no longer before king's judges, but ecclesiastical dignitaries, recovered self-possession, and vehemently maintained their perfect innocence, declaring that, if they had confessed the crimes laid to their charge, it was because they had been *gehennés*, subjected to torture, and in fear of death; and though many had expired, they were now determined to persist in their denial, and defend themselves. Eleven specified the tortures they had suffered many times, being confined on bread and water in dark dungeons, hung up repeatedly by the tenderest parts of the body, and their bones forced out of the skin.

Such revelations as these, together with the attitude of innocent and injured men, which the Pope's commissioners seemed unable to repress or to deal with, greatly alarmed the legists who conducted the prosecution. When the grand master, Jacques de Molay, was brought before the commission, he at first assumed the attitude of innocence, notwithstanding his previous avowals. The lawyers instantly obtained an adjournment, and by persuasion, no doubt, and promises of pardon and oblivion to

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the order, induced Molay to recede from his attitude of innocence, and his determination to defend the Temple.

This point gained, the king's prosecutor determined to get rid of the more dangerous and obstinate of the Templars. The law of the Inquisition was, that those who confessed heresy and relapsed were to be immediately handed over for execution to the secular arm. Under this law they resolved to condemn at once the most refractory. The Pope's commissioners shrunk from the sanguinary act, but they allowed the Archbishop of Sens, Marigni, brother to the king's treasurer, to form a tribunal of ecclesiastics, under the name of a provincial court. These made no difficulty of declaring to be relapsed a certain number of the Templars, consisting chiefly of those who offered to defend the order. Philip immediately ordered two spaces to be enclosed outside the gates of Paris, the one at the gate of St. Antoine, the other at that of St. Denis. And there fifty-four Templars were tied to stakes, and combustibles piled around them. They were promised pardon if they confessed; but they had been so often deceived, that they trusted Philip and his executioners no longer, and were therefore burned, persisting in their innocence, and died at least, if they had not lived, with the constancy of martyrs.

The papal commissioners were shocked at the haste and severity of the Archbishop of Sens and his court. They protested, and claimed to have transferred to them a certain Templar, a defender of the order, whose trial they were proceeding with. But the lawyers of the archbishop's court, who were peculiarly desirous to stop the mouth of this man, replied that his trial had lasted already two years, which was quite long enough, and that the archbishop had the Pope's authority, as well as the commissioners'. These accordingly abandoned their task, and allowed full licence to the courts or councils which the king nominated in each province.

The Templars who persisted in their innocence were, without mercy or delay, committed to the flames; those who acknowledged their guilt and had given testimony against their brethren were pardoned; some were immured for life. One knight, Aimery de Villars, declared himself ready to confess that he had murdered our Lord if the prosecution desired it, and would say any thing to escape torture and death.

After these executions by courts, to which Pope Clement had given a certain though a reluctant assent, he was as much implicated as Philip, and desirous to accomplish the destruction of the Templars. But such a sweeping act of confiscation and slaughter applied to a religious order, could only be finally sanctioned by a general council. This was accordingly summoned to meet at Vienne in Dauphiny, in 1311. Philip, who admitted the necessity of a council, as well as the Pope, saw that it would be unadvisable to face it with that proposal on which he had long insisted, of a solemn degradation of the memory of Pope Boniface. He accordingly waived this; Nogaret, the great instigator, receiving absolution in return from the Pope for his attack on Boniface, on condition of proceeding to the Holy Land with the next crusade. At the same time, and with the same view of not provoking hostility in the future council, Philip gave up, in appearance at least, his hold of the property and revenues of the Templars, praying the Pope in a public demand that, since the order would no doubt be condemned by the forthcoming assembly, the property might be given to some new military religious fraternity.

Whilst the general council was about to meet at Vienne, Philip had determined on summoning a parliament or assembly of his adherents at Lyons. The principal part of that city on the left bank of the Saone, formerly belonging to the emperor, had fallen under the jurisdiction of its archbishop, at the time a prince of the

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House of Savoy. The citizens, oppressed by the exactions of its prelate, had had recourse to the protection of France, but they soon found the seneschals of Philip as extortionate and arbitrary as the prelate's officers. They rose consequently in insurrection, and stormed the castle of St. Just. Philip took the opportunity of sending against them his eldest son, Louis Hutin, then styled King of Navarre. The force which the prince brought was sufficient to defy resistance, and the archbishop Peter, of Savoy, who had but a life interest in Lyons, nevertheless ceded it in perpetuity to Philip, who thus acquired the second city of the kingdom.

The council of Vienne was opened in October, 1311, and it was at once manifest that the condemnation of the Templars, without hearing the testimony of those who survived, would be against the wishes of the majority. The Pope in consequence suspended the sittings, put in close prison those of the Templars who had escaped and who had presented themselves for the defence, and spent the winter in negotiating with the prelates, and endeavouring to obtain their adhesion to what had taken place. By these efforts and manœuvres Clement was at last able to have the order of the Templars condemned by the council; this was done, however, in secret consistory, and more by way of provision than of active condemnation. A public session of the council was then held in the spring of 1312, when the Pope, in consequence of the former vote, pronounced, in the presence of Philip and the council, the order of the Templars dissolved. It was then ordained that the property of the order should be made over to the Knights Hospitallers. The grand master of this order had prudently withdrawn from France, fearing that the storm which overwhelmed the Knights of the Temple might extend also to those of the Hospital. Collecting the knights at Cyprus, the grand master proceeded to the conquest of Rhodes, which he accom-

plished; thus securing a stronghold and a home for the order, away from the rapacious designs of the Pope and of European sovereigns. Although the property of the Templars was assigned to the Hospitallers, this profited them little, for Philip and his legists brought them in so enormous a bill of the costs for his law expenditure in the trial, that the greater part of the Templars' wealth was absorbed by the crown.

The difficulty remained of dealing with the persons of the grand master De Molay and of those other great officers of the order; one of them Guy, brother of the Dauphin of Auvergne. The Pope had reserved these for the judgment of the council, wishing to save them from the cruelty of Philip; for the council, though consenting to the abolition of the order, would have no complicity with the work of blood. They would have heard and tried but to acquit: and this Clement would not permit; his intention, however, was to save their lives. For this purpose he named a commission of three cardinals, who, unfortunately, adjoined to their tribunal the sanguinary Archbishop of Sens, who had already imbued his hands in the blood of the Templars. The prelates held their court in public, on a scaffold hung round with red, on the open space before the portal of Notre Dame de Paris. The grand master De Molay, Guy of Auvergne, and two other dignitaries, were brought before the tribunal. Bidden to repeat their confession of guilt, all four obeyed, and the cardinals proceeded to pass the sentence which condemned the four dignitaries of the Temple to perpetual imprisonment. The ceremony, and with it the melancholy tragedy of the Templars, seemed over; when two of the condemned, Molay and Guy D'Auvergne, in whose breasts indignation had been bursting, and who probably had been led to expect a milder sentence, broke forth with a passionate protest, that all which they had confessed of their own crimes and those of the order were untrue; that they had been

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induced by false promises, by ignorance of the language in which the depositions were taken; that all had been confessed by them at the persuasion and on the promises of the Pope and the king. And they declared their readiness to die for the falsehoods which they had had the weakness to utter. This was against Pope and king: they were no less severe against the Archbishop of Sens and the cardinals. The court broke up in confusion; the solemn recantation had taken place in public, and produced no small emotion. But if the prelates were in hesitation and dismay, King Philip felt none. He instantly ordered a space of the island of the city to be enclosed, which was opposite the windows of his palace. Here stakes were erected and combustibles piled, and the grand master and his companion were without delay committed to the flames.* They died with the utmost constancy and heroism, protesting their innocence. It is said that Jacques de Molay, at the stake, solemnly summoned the Pope and the King to appear before the judgment-seat of God, Clement within forty days, Philip within a year and one day — a summons, which, whether really spoken or imagined, both potentates obeyed.

Judicial proceedings, crimes, suspicions, torture, and executions, form almost the only events of the latter portion of the reign of Philip the Fair. The lawyer, the executioner, and the tax-gatherer were the active and principal personages of the time. The king seemed to have no other friends and councillors. In 1313 he derogated somewhat from his sombre and solitary habits by a great festivity given on the occasion of having his son knighted. Edward the Second of England was present at the ceremony. But even out of this sprung

* The ecclesiastical authorities of the parish and abbey of St. German des Pres protested against any but themselves ordering capital punishment in a district where they had the right of *haute justice*. Such was the only protest of the French church in the affair of the Templars.

up the revelation of crime even in the monarch's family. Of the king's three sons the eldest, Louis, called Hutin, who wore the crown of Navarre, had espoused Margaret of Burgundy; the second, Philip, Count of Poictiers, and the third, Count de la Marche, had married Jeanne and Blanche, princesses of Franche Comté. All these were accused of being false to their marriage vows; and two Norman brothers, Philip and Gaultier D'Aulnay, were accused of being the paramours of Margaret and of Blanche. Put to the torture, the youths confessed to having been the lovers of the princesses for the preceding three years. They were accordingly executed, with the most refined cruelty, on one of the public squares of Paris. They were skinned alive and mutilated, and several others suffered for having been privy to the crime. Margaret, queen of Louis of Navarre, was immured in the castle of Andelys on the Seine, where she was afterwards strangled, when her husband wished to re-marry. Blanche, after long imprisonment, took the veil. Jeanne, who was the heiress of Franche Comté, was more leniently dealt with. Her husband, Philip, afterwards Philip the Long, desired to keep her heritage; and, either for this reason or from her innocence, she was acquitted of the crime laid to her charge. Margaret of Burgundy, wife of Louis, was the heroine of the tradition which told that a princess once inhabited the Tour de Nesle, on the south side of the Seine. Thither she was in the habit of enticing such youths as pleased her, and then precipitating them into the Seine — until a student named Buridan had the wit to suspect, and the good fortune to escape, the fate reserved for him.

The grand master of the Templars had perished at the stake in March. Clement the Fifth expired in the following month. It was said of his mistress Melissende, Countess of Talleyrand Perigord, that she cost

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the Pontiff more treasure than was expended during the pontificate for the rescuing of the Holy Land.

The uncontrolled authority which Philip had arrogated to himself over the lives and property of so many of his subjects—an authority which he had so criminally and so fearfully abused—did not either supply his necessities or ensure his tranquillity. An outbreak of the Flemings, who redemanded French Flanders, or Lille, Bethune, and Douai from the king, on their payment of 200,000 livres, compelled him to raise an army. And this obliged him to levy fresh taxes, especially a duty on all sales and transfers, which occasioned almost a general insurrection throughout France. A confederation, in which nobles and commons joined, was formed first in the capital, and afterwards in Picardy and Champagne. And though the obnoxious tax seems to have been confined to the north, the league against taxation soon extended to the south, of which the people were greatly irritated, and frequently complained of the adulteration of the coin. Philip was therefore obliged to abandon the exaction of the duty on sales and transfers, which resolve necessitated another humiliation, that of a compromise with the Flemings, who had besieged Lille. In order to come to a satisfactory arrangement about the coin, the king assembled deputies from forty-three towns, no doubt the most considerable of the kingdom. Their recommendation was to bring the gold coin back to the weight and fineness which it possessed in the reign of St. Louis. Philip consented to this, but an illness, which was incomprehensible to his physicians, gradually undermined his strength; and Philip the Fair expired towards the close of November, 1314, at Fontainebleau.

It is impossible to avoid considering in contrast the characters of St. Louis and of Philip the Fair,—monarchs whose reigns succeeded each other with an interval of but a few years, children of the same century, the same

family, the same civilisation, the same system, the policy of the one being but the result of that which the other originated; their personal genius, and the mode of pursuing and accomplishing their aims, not the aim itself, making the difference. It was St. Louis who converted the feudal monarchy into an absolute one, and created a functionary class, altogether dependent upon the crown, to supersede the territorial noblesse in political, in administrative and judicial authority. Philip, inheriting this absolute power, wielded it with a fuller consciousness of right, and without a feudal scruple or a feudal virtue. For the honour of the knight and the gentleman, St. Louis substituted an exclusively religious principle and motive. But religion had been so prostituted and perverted to the avarice, the greed, the ambition and immeasurable pretensions of the Popes, that it was no longer recognisable as Christianity. Every moral principle had been destroyed, every idea of natural justice obliterated, and every feeling of humanity itself sacrificed to the aim of making the Papacy dictatorial over the acts and even over the very thoughts of men. It was impossible that the Inquisition should have drowned the south of France in blood, and made it over to the north and to Rome, without producing a ministry, a monarch, a policy, and a judicature in its own image. St. Louis, indeed, repelled and adjourned that necessity. There was enough in him of the knight and the layman to repudiate the morality and the policy that sacerdotalism had created. But although he kept almost all his own acts and his government free from such degradation, he still unconsciously contributed to the formation of a monarchy which rivalled the Papacy in authority and pretensions, and which imitated and adopted its thraldom over the intellect and its contempt of all men's rights. Philip the Fair was the result.

It is a subject of congratulation and of boast with some French writers, that the authority of the nobles and the

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influence of the clergy were counterbalanced and nullified by the new class of the ignobly born and legally learned, whom the progress of the age had raised to influence and power. But in what were Pierre Flotte and Nogaret better than the canonists and inquisitors of Rome? They were equally the priests of absolutism, the instruments of murder, the unscrupulous perverters of morality and justice. The king, to be sure, was their Pope, and the prerogative which they claimed and created for him was but a counterpart of that which the fabrication of decrétals had built up for the Pontiff. But what was this, except, at the critical moment when sacerdotal authority in the person of the Pope was declining, to build up another more formidable and more tyrannical, less shackled by scruples or by a sense of decorum, better fitted to gather compactness and strength in its system of tyranny from its own hereditary right, and from that hereditary fixity of caste, which it created around it, and, moreover, far more powerfully armed to put down resistance, and grind all the ranks of social life into the one mass of despicable servility?

Philip the Fair carried this absolute power almost at once to its highest pitch. None of the noblesse dared to lift up their heads; and the commonalty, when they chanced to be froward, were, as in the towns of South Languedoc, punished with the sanguinary cruelty of the time. The order of the Templars cost him no more than lawyers' labour to destroy. The Pope himself, —that power which had displaced so many monarchs, and swept dynasties from off of the earth,—was made the humble and subservient tool of the King of France. But Philip's lawyers had no skill beyond their profession. They were without pōlitical science or statesmanlike views. It was out of their power, and beyond their sagacity, to organise a financial or a military system. The desire of the monarch was to liberate his crown from being dependent for military force upon

feudal institutions or upon the noblesse. He could only do this by large levies of money; but he shrunk from the only mode in which this was feasible,—the summoning of the several orders, and demanding their assent to increased taxation.

The state of England, the humiliation of Edward the Second, and the straits to which even Edward the Third was brought, deterred rather than tempted the French monarch to have recourse to such a policy. The consequence was, that the king had no military force at his disposal, and no permanent resources equal to supply it. The tyranny of the French crown was thus without solid substance or basis, and in this it also resembled the Pope's, being an affair of opinion and a jurisdiction of awe. When it was examined closely, it ceased to command respect. The despotism commenced by Philip Augustus, advanced by St. Louis, and completed under Philip the Fair, was by many centuries premature. These monarchs sought not merely to curb and regulate the feudal power of the aristocracy, but to destroy and dispense with it altogether, and to substitute great functionaries after the Byzantine system. The attempt failed utterly, and the consequence was that the country sunk into a kind of transitional state, its feudal organisation weakened and destroyed, whilst no other could be framed to replace it. And thus in war it became powerless, and in administration lapsed into anarchy. Its princes were mere spoliators, and its courts of justice were but shambles. The communes, far from gaining rights, were left at the mercy of the king's lieutenants during a vigorous reign, or that of the renascent aristocracy under a weaker one.

In this boasted reign of legists and equality, the lower grades of society, instead of being aided to rise to a level, or to a nearer level, with those above them, were in fact stopped in their progress. The sales of fiefs or noble land to *roturiers* or wealthy men of the middle

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classes, which had been so general in the time of the crusades, now ceased. Then the tenure of such land during three generations ennobled the possessor; now it became ruled that the land did not confer noblesse, and that if a *roturier* came to possess it, the lord lost his feudal dues, and the crown its feudal service. Thus, the absorption of the more eminent of the middle class into the ranks of the upper ceased; and with it ceased the rise of the lower class, and the elevation of the serf to become a *colon* or rent-payer. When the wealthy citizen bought an estate, he introduced a higher degree of cultivation: he wanted corn, not parks. He broke up the soil (from whence the name of *roturier*); and he did this by making the serf a tenant, paying *cens*, and by helping him at first to do so. But when the wealthy class ceased to acquire land, there was no possibility or incentive for the serf to become other than he was. Philip the Fair and Louis Hutin drew up, indeed, very fine edicts, in which it was announced that all men were born free, and that all serfs might make themselves so on payment. But the serfs had now no one to pay for them, and they remained deaf to the offer of their emancipation, which was a mere verbal flourish of lawyers ignorant of that for which they legislated.

The enormous increase of the power of the Crown in these reigns cannot therefore be looked upon with unmingled satisfaction; nor was the sacrifice of feudal privileges and independence to the power of royalty profitable to either the nation or its inferior classes. The feudal state is naturally that of nations sparse in population, and compelled to assume military organisation, with nothing but the land to support it. The necessary grades and subordination of an army are thereby imprinted upon the soil and upon the people. But from the narrow and exclusive laws of such a system, a nation spontaneously bursts; and it ought to be able to do so without an effacement of the higher

ranks, or the prostration of the whole people, after oriental fashion, before the throne of a despot. In the feudal system, and in feudal rights, existed the germ of rustic organisation, of the growth and knitting of the limbs and provinces of a great kingdom, without retrograding to that mere civism of antiquity which ignored the rustic population, and enslaved it, or to the centralised system of the Byzantine Empire, which allowed neither life nor freedom to the provinces. To the wise use, respect, and preservation of the salutary principles of feudalism, England owed its Great Charter, its Parliament, its right of voting its own taxes, of each man being tried by his peers. France lost these boons, and flung away these chances, principally by the premature sacrifice of feudalism, and by the absorption of all political right in the Crown.

French writers, however, estimate the loss of freedom as a trifle, provided the upper classes, which attract envy, are pulled down. Unfortunately the French aristocracy were not in this sense humbled. They were allowed to keep all the advantages and privileges which could create envy and cause inequality, without retaining those which might have enabled them to resist, control, and save royalty. The best attributes of aristocracy were indeed abrogated by the policy of Philip, but the worst remained behind, and were perpetuated by their posterity.

Yet even this error and this crime of royalty—its assumption of absolute power—is applauded, because it produced the unity and grandeur of the French monarchy: establishing an unbroken rule from the Mediterranean to the Northern Ocean, driving the German behind the Alps and the Rhine, the English beyond sea, and making the French monarch the first in dignity, in influence, and in power. The unity of France, however, might have taken place, or been accomplished, at far less cost of human life and human freedom. The

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south might have been joined to the north by princely intermarriages and common accord, without the horror of the Albigensian war, and the destruction of southern creeds, liberties, literature, and civilisation. There was no power or prince, either in Italy or Spain, that could have competed with the king who reigned in Paris, for the possession of the south; and affinity of tongue and habits would have sufficed to produce adjunction of territory. Had there been established in France a limited and free monarchy, under which the commercial ranks and the middle as well as the noble orders could have held their place and preserved their privileges, the great popular and prosperous territory of Flanders would no doubt have rallied as readily as Gascony or Normandy to a capital so near and a prince so great. But the despotic intolerance of the French monarchs, with the rapacity of its agents and of the centralised system, disgusted the Flemings, and curtailed France of what was then its natural development.

The monarchy, though repelled from Flanders by its tyrannical character, and compelled to restore Guienne by shame and a wish to conciliate England, still made notable acquisitions in Philip's reign. The territories of the family of Lusignan (De la Marche), between La Rochelle and the Garonne, completed the French territory in the west. The last counts had mortgaged their lands, and Philip took this pretext to seize them and exclude collaterals. Lyons, though but a city, was well worth a province for its substance and its wealth. Franche Comté, apparently secured by the marriage of its coheiresses to the French princes, proved to be another acquisition which the alienation of Burgundy at a later period defeated. The tendency of the monarchy was evidently to extend and consolidate itself in the south; so much so that its estates were henceforth more often summoned to meet on the Loire than on the Seine. Royalty, however, seemed anchored in

Paris, by the wealth of its citizens*, by its parliament, and (not least) by its university, which had grown in European and paramount repute, and which indeed threatened to rival, in philosophy and in dogma, that authority† which parliament had usurped in a judicial, and royalty in a political sphere.

* The tax-book, or list of taillages, of the city of Paris under Philip the Fair, has been preserved and published. The rich Lombard merchants paid each from 100 to 114 livres, equal to 2657 livres or francs of the present day. As the taille was one fiftieth of a man's revenue, that of Grandruffe, the highest tax-payer of Paris, must have been 130,000 francs, which, considering the relative value, in purchase, of money then and at the present day, was enormous.

† The most remarkable instance of this occurred some years later, when Pope John the Twenty-second promulgated certain doctrines which seemed to limit the privileges enjoyed by the saints in heaven. The Sorbonne rebelled against this depreciation of the objects of universal reverence, if not worship. The Pope was stigmatized as heretic, and his fallible Holiness was obliged to bow to the infallible Sorbonne of Paris.

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LOUIS HUTIN — PHILIP THE LONG — CHARLES THE FAIR.

1314—1328.

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PHILIP the Fair had mingled little with the chivalry of his time. He forbade tournaments, and, after the fashion of oriental despots, kept his sons secluded. The eldest, known as Louis the Tenth, called Hutin or the Turbulent, was fond of rude pastimes. He had been crowned king of Navarre at Pampeluna, and succeeded at the same time to the county of Champagne. He also headed the troops which accomplished the reduction of Lyons; but it does not otherwise appear that he shared his father's confidence, being indeed but twenty-four years of age on ascending the throne. His uncle Charles, Count of Valois, had much influence over him, a prince who had shown eagerness, but not perseverance, to tread in the adventurous and ambitious path of Charles of Anjou. It would have been a relief to the age to have found in princes the habits and qualities of the soldier, which, through rude, are frank and generous. The sword, however, was not the weapon of the time. To charge a rival or a victim with the most infamous and even ludicrous crimes was the kind of weapon which had succeeded to chivalric defiance and feudal combat. The Church had set the example by its denunciations of heresy; Philip the Fair had adopted this mode of procedure against the Templars. Charles of Valois' ima-

gination was fraught with another crime; he either believed or affected to believe in sorcery. By making a waxen image of a foe, which was pricked and tortured, the person represented was supposed to pine away and die. It was a belief of the age, and a fearful belief, for who could be secure against an act of malice that might be perpetrated in the most profound secrecy?

Charles entertained an aversion for all his brother's councillors. He accused his chancellor Latilli, Bishop of Chalons, with having caused the death of the king by means of such sorcery as has been described. Latilli's obvious interest had been to keep Philip alive; but Charles caused him, nevertheless, to be imprisoned and tortured under the accusation. Raoul de Presle, another of Philip's legists, was implicated in the same crime, and underwent similar persecution.

But Enguerrand De Marigni, Philip's prime minister, was the chief object of hatred to the king's uncle. He had been the most influential personage under the late king's reign, "a perfect Major Domus," according to the continuator of Nangis, all difficult matters being managed by his conduct, and all persons obedient to his nod. It is remarkable that a minister admitted to be so powerful should have kept himself so completely in the background as scarcely to be named, although his brother, the Archbishop of Sens, made himself conspicuous as the chief instrument of the condemnation of the Templars. Charles accused Marigni of the depreciation of the coin; but for this crime, even if considered guilty, Louis Hutin thought him not worthy of punishment more severe than banishment to the Isle of Cyprus. Charles seemed unable to bring against Marigni himself the accusation of sorcery; he, however, accused his wife of employing others to make the terrible images of wax. All of those thus implicated were brought, not before parliament, but in the presence of the king, of Charles, and of some barons at Vincennes. The coun-

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cillors of Philip had set the example of creating courts of justice in whatever way suited their convenience. The Templars had thus been sacrificed by the clergy and the legists. It was now the turn of the barons, and they condemned Marigni to be hanged on a gibbet, the king, on hearing of sorcery, abandoning his previous efforts to save him.

Another murder was that of Margaret, wife of Louis, who had been sent to seclusion in the Chateau Gaillard. One of the first acts of the king on his accession was to despatch an envoy to demand the hand of Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel of Naples, a descendant of Charles of Anjou, and wearing the title of King of Hungary. Louis had hoped to get a papal dispensation or divorce from Margaret; but the Papal election being delayed, it was necessary to get rid of Margaret more speedily, and she was accordingly smothered in prison. Clemence soon after arrived, after having suffered shipwreck: so great was the poverty of the king that the marriage was obliged to be celebrated with little pomp.

The young king was beset with difficulties which required a wise head and an established authority to deal with. A war threatened him already. Count Robert, of Flanders, hesitated and refused to render the homage due to the King of France on his accession; the Flemings, no doubt, alleging that their country had been unjustly shorn of Lille and the neighbouring towns. Philip would have avenged such frowardness by sequestrating the county of Nevers, held by the eldest son of the Count of Flanders. But the prince appeared at the French Court, and was well received. The war could only be carried on by feudal levies; when these were summoned, the noblesse of the different provinces sent in their grievances in lieu of their contingents. His legists would have counselled Philip the Fair to resist such demands; but his son had surrounded his person, not with legists, but with barons, and these

remained acquiescent with the demands of their brother nobles. Of course what was granted to one could not be refused to another. And under the date of this one year, 1315, the French statute book is filled with ordonnances regranting their old privileges to the noblesse, and rescinding a large portion of the voluminous legislation of the French monarchs during the preceding century.

The most complete and extensive of these concessions —they might almost be called charters—were given to the nobles of Burgundy, who demanded to be guaranteed by royal ordonnances against the encroachments and arbitrary measures of the legists. The king was made to declare that no noble of Burgundy should be arrested on suspicion, nor proceeded against by *enquête;* that their *chateaux* should not be seized, nor fiefs taken from those that were noble; that if arraigned before their peers, they should not be removed out of the province, but be allowed trial by single combat. They were, moreover, to enjoy their old rights of *haute et basse justice*, judicial rights in cases of life and death, as well as in minor accusations, nor were the king's bailiffs to interfere with them. Moreover, the nobles were to be allowed the right of private war, and were not to be compelled to give *asseurance* against breaking the peace. With regard to military service, the king could only summon to the field the tenants who held immediately of him. Those who held of barons could only be summoned by their barons. Moreover the king bound himself not to levy more than sixty livres *tournois* in the way of fine upon nobles or person of less condition.

Although the immunities granted to the nobles of other provinces were not so extensive, still it is evident that the legislative reforms of St. Louis for the time in a great measure broke down, and were found incapable of general application. Trial by battle had begun to be allowed in cases where there was no testimony forth-

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coming, or where conflicting testimony was impossible to reconcile. And private war was only forbidden during the continuance of the king's war. These immunities, granted to the noblesse, were also extended in a great measure to the clergy. The commons alone seemed to be forgotten, except in the provision against further adulteration of the coin, and in the order that provosts should not be allowed to purchase their offices for more than three years. These reforms were not preceded or accompanied by troubles except at Sens, of which the people rebelled against the archbishop, Marigni, and his court, which he had converted into such a scene of tyranny and extortion, that it could no longer be borne. The chroniclers draw a veil over the manner in which this sedition was put down.

Sismondi remarks the striking difference between the demands of the southerns and those of the northerns. The latter insisted on a resuscitation of feudal rights, the former merely demanding that none might be taken away from their natural judges—that accused persons might be liberated on bail—that town authorities be exempted from torture—that taxation be not arbitrary, but according to rule, and that in future the coin be not continually adulterated. The distinction, laid down by Sismondi, should not be between North and South, for the demands of the Normans more resembled the equable and legal desires of the people of Languedoc, than the feudal privileges asked and obtained by the Burgundians. The Normans beg the king to levy but his ordinary revenues, ask that causes be tried in their *échiquier*, and not brought to Paris, and that no man should be put to the torture. The feudal rudeness of the Normans was mitigated by intermixture with their brethren, the Anglo-Normans, whilst the absence of feudal privileges in Languedoc proceeded from southern civilisation.

Whilst the monarch made these large concessions to

his noblesse, he seems to have derived from them no efficient aid in the prosecution of the war with Flanders. To raise money for this purpose, he was obliged to compound with the Lombard merchants of Paris, they consenting to pay so much a pound on their importations. The Jews, too, were again permitted to reside in certain cities on the payment of a tax. Louis Hutin was the first king who formally borrowed money on the credit of the State, his successors being obliged to devote to the purpose of repayment all the sums that might accrue from forfeiture and confiscation. Moreover, the city of Paris agreed to raise a body of four hundred knights and two thousand foot, ready to march whenever the king should command in person. The citizens, however consenting to the tax on this score, took care that it should be paid to no lord, and not even to a royal functionary, who might raise feudal pretensions upon such a basis.

With an army raised at these pains and costs, Louis marched into Flanders. The Flemings were in the neighbourhood of Lille, and the French king encamped opposite to them, with a river running between the armies. The monarch had not an opportunity of putting his own valour and that of his soldiers to the proof. For the elements put a stop to hostilities, the rain pouring down in unusual torrents, flooding the camps, and destroying provisions and crops. The men and horses of both armies were up to their knees in water, and there remained nothing for the French but to burn their tents and retreat, leaving the Flemings unsubdued. This unsuccessful campaign flung the country into anarchy, the barons levying war wherever they could foresee profit from it; and those who had right of coinage, Charles of Valois included, making exorbitant use of it to enrich themselves at the expense of the country. The king suspended this right, but his order was set at nought; and he then strove to regu-

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late the nature and fineness of the coin which each grandee might issue.

Whilst Charles of Valois was thus employed, the king despatched his brother, Philip, Count of Poictiers, to Avignon, to hasten the election of a Pope. Gascon and Italian cardinals were so balanced in number, that agreement was impossible. A fire, which broke out in the edifice where the prelates assembled, had dispersed them, "like so many partridges," says the chronicler. The only effectual receipt for the fabrication of a Pontiff was to summon the cardinals and starve the Conclave till it brought forth a Pope. Although the Count of Poictiers had sworn a solemn promise not to have recourse to this violent measure, he nevertheless declared that the welfare of Christendom required him to break it, and he in consequence proceeded to confine and coerce the heads of the Church, when tidings reached him that Louis Hutin had expired at Vincennes on the 5th of July, 1316. After heating himself at ball-playing, the king had descended to the cellar to quench his thirst, an imprudence that proved fatal.

Philip immediately hastened to Paris, and took possession of the royal palace. Charles of Valois thought at first of disputing the regency; but the armed citizens of Paris, whom Louis had enrolled for the Flemish war, with the constable at their head, drove Charles's followers out of the Louvre. Clemence, the young widow of Louis Hutin, now announced her pregnancy. In addition to this posthumous child, Louis had left a daughter, Jeanne, by Margaret of Burgundy. The Duke of Burgundy, although he had been unable or unwilling to protect Margaret, maintained the rights of her daughter, and pleaded that Philip the Fair had acknowledged her legitimacy. Considering her sex, however, and the stain upon her mother's reputation, it was difficult to maintain Jeanne's right to the succession. The Duke of Burgundy, therefore, and the barons pre-

sent at Paris, or the greater number of them, came to an arrangement with Philip.

If Queen Clemence was delivered of a son, in that case Philip was to govern, as the guardian of the infant monarch, till he had reached the years of his majority; if the child of Clemence should prove a daughter, then Philip agreed to leave to the two princesses the kingdom of Navarre, with the counties of Champagne and of Brie, they making over to him all claim to the crown of France. Jeanne was given up to the Duke of Burgundy, or rather to her grandmother, Agnes; and she was not to marry without her uncle's consent.

Philip, thus declared regent, was instantly called upon to defend, not merely his possessions in Flanders, but also in Artois. Although the lords of that province, descendants of Robert d'Artois, had left heirs male, and although the elders perished in the cause of France at Furnes and at Courtray, Philip the Fair had cheated Robert, the rightful heir, of his heritage, in order to give it to his aunt Mahaut or Matilda, mother of the queen. Such wrongs were suffered without resistance under the reign of Philip the Fair; but now, not only did Robert of Artois claim his right, but he was generally supported, and the young count drove the king's constable from both St. Omer and Arras. The Regent Philip raised an army forthwith, and marched into Artois. The nobles had, however, no wish to fight a serious battle against each other, and Robert was induced to submit, on condition that the previous judgment of Philip the Fair should be set aside, and his cause tried anew before the Court of Peers. On these terms Robert submitted, and even constituted himself a prisoner in Paris.

Soon afterwards, the queen gave birth to a son, who was christened John; but the child only lived a few days. Philip lost no time in at once claiming the rank of king, and appointing no distant day in January,

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1317, for his coronation at Rheims. The agreement which he had come to with the Duke of Burgundy certainly encouraged him to such a step, nay, entitled him, if he consented to give up Navarre and Champagne; but even these he announced no intention of abandoning, and the Duke of Burgundy, as well as the royal princesses, manifested their discontent. The duke formally protested. Philip succeeded in having the ceremony of his coronation celebrated, although it was necessary to close the gates of Rheims for security during the festivity. From Rheims Philip hastened to Paris, and, having the assistance of a cardinal, convoked as many nobles and prelates as he could command, together with the citizens, to form a solemn assembly. It approved of Philip's coronation, and swore fealty to him and his son Louis. The university, when consulted, gave a similar approbation, though they took no oath. "Thus was it declared," says the continuator of Nangis, "that the crown of France does not descend to women." Matters would not have passed so tranquilly had not the son of Philip expired a few days after the assembly at Paris. The king had daughters; but his own acts precluded their succession. It was therefore generally, but tacitly, agreed to submit to Philip's title. Charles of Valois, who was at the head of the noblesse, already began to entertain well-founded hopes of the royal succession accruing to his own family. The Duke of Burgundy was pacified by obtaining one of Philip's daughters in marriage, with a considerable sum of money in dowry, as well as Franche Comté. Jeanne, daughter of Louis Hutin, whose claims the duke thus abandoned, was affianced to the only son of the Count d'Evreux.

The grounds for this exclusion of females from the throne of France are not to be found in any law, but in the circumstance of Jeanne's mother having been stricken with infamy, with no staunch friend to defend

her, whilst Philip was in possession of the royal authority, of which it would have required a civil war to dispossess him. Charles of Valois was the only personage who could have attempted it; but he and his family had so much more to gain by the exclusion of females than by supporting Jeanne's right, that they of course abandoned it. With respect to the old Salic law afterwards invoked, it related but to fiefs and military service, and yet in fiefs it had been so generally set aside, that women succeeded to lands and to noble property in all the provinces of France. It must have been evident to the noblesse as to others, that the descent of a fief, much more of the crown to females, weakened it for a time, and eventually rendered it liable to become the prey of personages, perhaps foreigners, who had not the interest of the kingdom at heart. This, necessarily admitted by the noblesse, was still more keenly felt by the townsfolk and middle classes, who for several reigns had been taught to look up to the monarch as their protector against the feudal chiefs, and the crown itself as usually above the rules of feudalism. The accession of Philip the Long, therefore, and the exclusion of the daughters of Louis Hutin, was popular with the citizens, not displeasing to the noblesse, and not against the interest of the princes of the blood. The King of England recognised Philip, as did the Pope. And thus was it decided that the kingdom of France, instead of being considered as a patrimony that descended to direct heirs, even if female, was a high function which it required a prince to fill.

But however wise or expedient it may have manifestly been to prohibit females in that rude age from ascending the throne, still the success of Philip the Fifth on taking undisturbed possession of it with rights that provoked opposition, he being neither an experienced warrior, nor in command of a military force, nor possessed of pecuniary resources, proves how reduced in

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pride and humbled in spirit were the higher aristocracy of the day. We have seen how the Duke of Burgundy was brought to abandon the claims of his young niece, Jeanne, nor did any other noble assume an attitude of independence or opposition save the Count of Flanders, who, insisting on the restoration of Lille, Bethune, and Douai, refused to do homage to Philip. The latter made several preparations for war. In 1316, he levied a tax for the fitting out of a naval expedition at Dieppe, which he soon after suspended. And in 1318, he forbade tournaments and private war, lest they should interfere with the muster of knights which he had ordered to take place at Arras. Famine and pestilence, however, ravaged the north this year, and suspended hostilities. Negotiations were continually taking place, and were prevented from leading to any result by the rivalry of the king's uncles, the Counts of Valois and Evreux, who each wanted to give his daughter in marriage to the Count of Flanders. The Pope in vain endeavoured to reconcile these differences. There were at the time some troubles in Poitou, where the king had declared his dominions as count annexed to the crown. The Flemings proposed to the Poitevins to associate their cause, but Poitou was a feudal county and rejected the proposal of the Flemings. In his resistance to Philip, and in insisting on the restoration of Lille, the Count of Flanders was chiefly supported by Bruges, and the democracy which prevailed there, whilst Ghent and its inhabitants, amongst whom wealth had more influence, were for making peace with France and abandoning French Flanders. In one campaign the troops of Ghent deserted their count. When during negotiations at Paris, Robert refused to make peace if Lille were not given up, the deputies told him that he must yield. The count, unable to resist, withdrew in consequence and accepted the conditions of Philip, which were of course his retention of Lille, and the marriage of one of his daughters to the heir of the Count of Flanders.

The reign of Philip the Long was marked by no chivalrous enterprise or military feat. French and Flemings were disposed more to negotiate than fight. The English under Edward the Second gave no trouble to their neighbours. The families of Austria and Bavaria, struggling for the imperial crown, did not interfere with France, the Austrians, defeated by the Swiss at Morgarten, being driven more than ever remote from the French frontier. In Italy the Viscounts of Milan defied the Pope and his excommunication, in imitation of Philip the Fair. Philip of Valois, son of Charles, was induced to enter the Milanese with an army of knights; but the French found themselves in Lombardy, as in Flanders, completely outnumbered by the civic militia, and they were very glad to be allowed by the Duke of Milan to escape without disgrace.

In France the king and princes were continually proclaiming the intention of setting forth for the Holy Land. And as this was a good pretext for taxing, especially the clergy, the pretext was never abandoned. But the common people, as upon former occasions, seeing the vain words and empty promises of their superiors, were influenced to undertake themselves the neglected task. Again, therefore, the shepherds of the north of France, told by some pretended prophet that they were destined to liberate Jerusalem, assembled, flung away their crooks, abandoned their flocks, seized what arms they could find, and marched southward upon their crusade. This second muster of the *Pastoureaux* surprised the city of Paris, which they entered without opposition, marshalling and encamping in the meadows of Saint Germain des Près, south of the river. The king found no support from the civic arm to disperse them. In time they moved southward and took to slaughtering the Jews of the towns through which they passed, a feat which procured them some plunder, and was at the same time approved by the population.

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At last the royal officers of the south, alarmed and annoyed by the excesses of these new crusaders, collected a force sufficient to resist, disperse, and destroy them.

The lower and ignorant orders, about the same time, sought to rival their superiors in other ways. Philip the Fair had destroyed the Templars for divers supposed crimes, and it was attempted to abolish other orders of monks. The Beguines were accused, and decrees obtained against them. The Franciscans were threatened. Whilst the king was sojourning in Poitou, a rumour was propagated by the peasantry that the unfortunate beings afflicted with leprosy had poisoned all the wells of Aquitaine. The establishments for the seclusion of lepers had, like that of the Templars, sprung from the crusades, the disease having spread from Palestine to France. And now that all relations with Palestine had ceased, the necessity for these hospitals could not survive the destruction of their present inmates. No doubt some interested person, anxious to get possession of the estates and property of the *ladres*, spread the report. The lepers, like the Templars, were recluses living upon charity. It is possible that they might have been discontented, and in idleness and suffering had devoted themselves to the preparation of potions, perhaps for their own ills. Report or malice accused them of using these to poison the wells; the poor creatures were seized, and put to the usual interrogation of the torture. Of course they confessed whatever crime was laid to their charge. But some of them had the wit to turn the zeal of the new inquisition in another direction. They accused the Jews of having suborned them to poison Christendom. As the Jews were richer than the lepers, every one was glad to believe and act upon the accusation. It was afterwards said that the Jews had been suborned by the King of Granada. The soldans of Syria and Egypt had ceased to be known, and the Emir of Granada became thus in

the eyes of Europe the chief of the infidels. There were, however, no Saracens to spoil or to burn, but a great number of lepers perished in the flames. A hundred and sixty Jews were burned at Chinon. It was thought strange that forty Jews, reserved for the same fate, should have anticipated it by slaying each other. The king gained 150,000 livres by the confiscation of these unfortunate people's property; and he acquired, no doubt, an equal sum by the lepers.

Such events indicate how little the people were progressing in intelligence, justice, or charity; how effectual were the efforts of monks and clergy to keep mankind stationary; and how much the endeavours of the lawyers to establish the civil on the ruins of the feudal law, and testimony elicited by torture for trial by single combat, had perverted justice instead of improving it. Still the efforts of Philip the Long were generally in a right and a wise direction. He in a degree stopped the aristocratic reaction which had prevailed under Louis Hutin, without at the same time entrusting the conduct of affairs to the legists, as had been the policy of Philip the Fair. The body of Enguerrand de Marigny had been taken from its gibbet, and honourably buried. The other legists in captivity were released; but, at the same time, the king recalled the alienations which had been obtained of the royal domains by those law functionaries and their families. All grants of crown property since the days of St. Louis were revoked, "they being obtained," said the ordonnance, "by subtle and empty manœuvres, impoverishing the crown exceedingly." The families of Flotte, Nogaret, Plasian, and Boville, the functionaries of Philip the Fair, were thus stripped by the king; whilst Charles of Valois, struck with mortal disease, showed his penitence by bequeathing legacies and making what amends he could to the heirs of De Marigny.

The chief object of Philip the Long's efforts and

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edicts was to organise a regular administration. He ordered, first, that a certain number of the members of the Great Council should be always with the king, a provision afterwards repeated in the order that the Small or Privy Council (*l'estroit conseil*) should meet every month. He established the Chamber of Accounts, and regulated the issues of the Treasury, no payment to be made without the king's own signature. The abuses of Philip's predecessors are chiefly known by his efforts to amend them. He took off the *gabelle*, or tax on salt, and promised that it should make no part of the permanent revenue. He ordered the forced loans made in Normandy to be suspended and discontinued. He reduced the number of sergents, or king's soldiers, in the provinces, commanded those who were still maintained to be under the orders of the *baillis*, and bade them not to *sergenter* the country according to their own pleasure,—a sufficient indication of their previous conduct. His seneschals were directed to consult ten or twelve notables of the three orders of churchmen, nobles, and burgesses, as to the number and choice of these sergents. Philip regulated parliaments, their number, and their sitting. No prelate was to sit in that of Paris unless he belonged also to the king's council. Parliament should always be attended by a baron or two. It was empowered to send commissioners into the provinces to judge causes instead of bringing the parties to Paris, and thereby creating expenses. And as it seemed difficult to command the presence of a sufficient number of judges, Philip appointed the Count of Boulogne to attend regularly. The king forbade (1316) nobles to sell fiefs or feudal property to non-nobles. The inhabitants of Perigord were allowed previously to give lands on condition of *cens*, or rent. No castles were to be kept or paid for guarding unless they were on the frontier, and then should be garrisoned by royal troops.

The military ordonnances of Philip are few but signi-

ficant. His seneschals were ordered not to publish summonses to war except in the royal domains. This was to be done in the domain of the noble solely in cases of the *arrière ban*. The province of Berri having made the king a free grant of one fifth of the revenue for the Flemish war, the king gave orders to receive, but not enforce it. The nobles of Auvergne for every two thousand livres of revenue were to pay seven and a half sous a day, the price of a man-at-arms. The first edict for the organisation of the court also appears in the time of Philip the Long, and evinces the affluence of the courtiers as well as the necessity of restricting the right of ingress. Persons were forbidden to speak to the king during mass, and common persons were prohibited to come into his bedroom.

One of the latest schemes of Philip, much too advanced for his time, was to establish but one measure and one money throughout the kingdom. He calculated that this could not be done without great expense, and he proposed taking the fifth part of the goods of all his subjects for the purpose. But the townsfolk objected to the tax, whilst the nobles who had the right of coinage persisted in retaining so profitable a privilege. Philip was seized in the same year with dysentery and intermittent fever, which terminated in languor and confined him for months to his couch. The people did not fail to attribute his disease to the unheard-of exactions and extortions that he meditated. Philip the Long did not live to accomplish them; he expired in January, 1322.

No one put forward any claim on the part of the daughters of Philip the Long to the regal succession. Charles, the youngest son of Philip the Fair, was at once hailed as king; and so incontestably, that he seems to have dispensed with the ceremony of coronation. The first object with Charles, called, like his father, the Handsome or the Fair, was to leave an heir to the throne.

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Less cruel than Louis Hutin, he obtained a papal dispensation or divorce from his wife Blanche, not on account of the adultery of which she had been convicted, but on the plea of consanguinity. Charles immediately married Mary of Luxembourg, daughter of the late Emperor Henry the Seventh. This queen produced no heir, dying in premature childbirth within two years, when Charles married his cousin Jeanne, daughter of the Count d'Evreux.

The first years of the reign of Charles the Fair were chiefly marked by a trial, in which severity was at least warranted by justice, and in which the king and his court were above sparing culprits even of the highest connection. Jourdan de Lille, Lord of Casaubon in Gascony, having married the niece of Pope John the Twenty-second, considered himself above restraint. Accused of eighteen crimes each worthy of death, the king had spared him, out of consideration for the Pope; but Casaubon resumed his old habits. No traveller or merchant was safe from his rapine, nor damsel, nor even man, from his violence. Summoned to appear before the court of parliament to answer some of these acts, the Gascon lord beat with his own mace the royal sergent who bore the summons. He came to Paris, nevertheless, with a noble suite, bravely reckoning on impunity. He was, however, committed to prison, tried, condemned to death, and hanged, says the Chronicle of St. Denis, "in the cloth of his father-in-law, the Pope."

The Count of Flanders dying, his succession was claimed by his second son, Robert. His eldest son, the Count of Nevers, had expired while imprisoned in Paris, and the Chronicle suggests the probability of his death having been promoted (*avancé*) by his gaolers. The son of this prince was no doubt the rightful heir, and was preferred as such by the Flemings and the French king. Louis accordingly hastened to Flanders, and was cordially received by the people of Bruges. But

when the young count proceeded to tax the citizens with no light hand, and without consulting them, as was the fashion in France, the Flemings rebelled. The count suspected his uncle Robert of fostering their opposition, and sent commissioners to slay him in his residence near Lille. The Flemish chancellor warned him of his danger, and Robert escaped. The count, mistrusting his chancellor, arrested him, and asked, why he had revealed his secret? "To save your honour," was the reply. Soon after, the count's collectors raising the subsidy stipulated to be paid to France, levied more than the necessary sum. The town magistrates objected; the count and his officers repaired to Courtray, no doubt to be nearer France. Bruges sent deputies to expostulate; these the count arrested, and to prevent the Flemings coming to deliver them, he set fire to the suburbs and bridges of Courtray. The flames gained the town; the inhabitants rose in indignation against the count, and a combat ensued, in which many perished, John of Flanders amongst them. In the end the count was made a prisoner with one of his followers, and committed to the keeping of the citizens of Bruges, while his uncle Robert was chosen count in his stead. A state of permanent hostility to France did not, however, suit the Flemings, especially as the people of Ghent leaned to the French king, and thus disturbed the accord between the towns of Flanders. At the demand of Charles the Fair, therefore, the people of Bruges liberated Louis, on condition of his consenting to acknowledge the liberties and privileges of his subjects. Louis was no sooner free than he proceeded to France, made light of his oath, and sought to establish his authority by means of French invasion. To deprecate and prevent this, the people of Bruges and Ypres made submission, or appeared to do so; and promised to pay large sums both to count and king in order to be left at peace.

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The relations of French and English were amicable during a great portion of the reigns of the sons of Philip the Fair. Edward the Second, who had married Isabella, daughter of that monarch, occupied the throne of England during this time. Affinity at first bound the monarchs of the two countries; but Edward the Second excited such universal contempt and such aversion, even on the part of his queen, that the friendship of the two courts was turned to enmity. Mortimer, one of the English exiles, became a follower of Charles of Valois, and the French court sought an opportunity rather of quarrel than of amity with Edward. The county of Agen had always been a disputed territory. The seigneur of Montpezat built a castle in the vicinity of St. Serdos. He was himself a liege of England; but the French claimed the new castle as on their territory, and occupied it. The Gascon-English, under Montpezat himself, recaptured the castle, hanged the garrison, and then destroyed the walls. The court of France was indignant, the Count of Valois especially, and they marched at the head of an army to avenge the wrong. Agen was first taken. The King of England had not only levied a severe *taille* upon it, but carried away one of its handsomest women. Agen therefore welcomed and received the French, as did La Réole, where Edmund, Earl of Kent, capitulated, the English preserving merely the towns of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and St. Sever. The war waged by the Valois was more against Edward the Second than against England. The occupation of Guienne by the French troops was made a pretext for attracting the English queen to France; and Mortimer and Isabella, once out of Edward's power, soon prepared an expedition against him. In the height of it, the rumour ran that Edward had caused all the French in his dominions to be arrested. And, in truth, there is a royal order to that effect in Rymer, dated 1316. Charles in consequence ordered all the English

in France to be arrested, and seized their property; "which was done," says the continuator of Nangis, "in one day and hour." It appeared, however, that no French had been seized or ill-treated in England. Charles therefore ordered all the English whom he had taken, and who had no property, to be released, whilst he confiscated the property of such English as happened to be rich.* Although, after the success of Isabella and Mortimer in England, Charles the Fair nominally restored Guienne on the payment of a large indemnity, he still retained many fortresses, which served as a grievance afterwards for Edward the Third.

It would appear from the ordonnances and other acts of Charles the Fair that the party of the noblesse, dominant under Louis Hutin, but repressed under Philip the Long, recovered full authority under Charles. The Valois, who put themselves forward as the representatives of the chivalry of the age and as the enemy of the legists, appear predominant. They led the expedition against Guienne, threatened Flanders, and aided Mortimer and Isabella in the struggle which terminated in the murder of Edward the Second. The ordonnances of Charles the Fair do not interfere with the noblesse, except to shield them from the encroachments of the king's *baillis:* the lords of Auvergne and Brittany obtained especial immunities of this kind. Although armies were raised for Flemish and for Gascon war, the nobles were apparently not called upon to contribute to them except by feudal service; whilst the Parisians were called upon to keep up a body of 200 men-at-arms, and to levy a tax on sales to meet this expenditure. Towns which had not the privileges of *communes*, and

* "Illorum tamen Anglorum qui divites apparebant bona, quoad partem quæ ad eos contingere poterat, confiscavit. In quo facto omnes boni homines de regno turbati sunt, nam ibi notabatur in rege et consiliariis hujus facti nota detestabilis avaritiæ." — *Continuator Chronici G. de Nangis.*

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were without mayors or sheriffs, were ordered not to pay *taille*, but, instead of it, the tax on sales, of one *denier* in the livre, which tax was not to be levied on the produce sent to market by either nobles or clergy. There are numberless ordonnances in the same reign for payment of franc-fief and mortmain dues, for prosecuting Lombards defrauding the revenue, for resuming grants for the families of legists, for regulating the payments and organisation of the treasury, and for meeting the expense of public salaries. The chancellor and the notaries were ordered to pay their own salaries out of the proceeds of the Great Seal, and the judges of parliament were to get theirs from out of judicial fines. Money continued to be the great trouble and principal anxiety of government, the middle and civic classes being singled out as the only ones which could regularly furnish it, except when some rich and privileged body offered itself to the greed of the spoiler. In 1326 the Pope had sought to raise a subsidy in France for the prosecution of his war with the Emperor Louis of Bavaria and his supporters, the Ghibelines of Milan. Charles, in a decree from Château Thierry, forbade the levy of any such tax; but when the Pope offered to give the monarch the tenth for two years, the latter consented to the Papal levy. It amounted to one year's revenue of each benefice, a tax "before unheard of in the kingdom of France." "Thus," adds the continuator of Nangis, "whilst one potentate struck down the Church, the other skinned it."

The same fate which had carried off his brother at so young an age awaited Charles. Taken ill at Christmas, he expired at the end of January, 1328. "Thus was the entire progeny of Philip the Fair, and finer was not to be found in the kingdom of France, completely exterminated in the space of fourteen years."

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PHILIP OF VALOIS.

THE result of the thirteenth century was to make France France, and England England. Feudalism, or the distribution of territory by descent and by marriage, had arrived at a partition that was untenable and absurd, made civil war permanent, and over-rode natural interests and pride by mere family arrangements and claims. A weak king in England, and a crafty one in France, sufficed to right this immense wrong. The dominions of France, with its language, pushed in one stride to the ocean; and England, which saw without chagrin or effort its monarch lose his continental possessions, still kindled with national feeling at beholding the flag of a foreign monarch, in lieu of its own, float upon the opposite shore.

This great aggrandizement of France, by the absorption of the provinces of the Plantagenets, was not achieved by conquest. There was no trial of strength, no decision in the field, no judgment by battle. Had there been such, the English monarchs might have submitted to the award, nor endeavoured to renew the bootless strife. But to all appearance the acquisition of the entire west of France by Philip Augustus, and its retention by his successors, was the result of mere trickery, improbity, and chicane. The English monarch of that age could not perceive that Normandy or Anjou

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became annexed to France by the great law of geography and nationality. He merely saw the unfounded pretensions of suzerainty, and the judgment of a false court of peers, where peers there were none, and where the King of France acted the part of prosecutor, judge, and executioner. The flagrant dishonesty of Philip the Fair and Philip the Long with regard to Guienne, repeated and recalled that of Philip Augustus. It was impossible that an English monarch could feel other than deeply wronged by the kings of France; and it was also impossible for the national spirit of England, when awakened, not to respond to it.

In these circumstances is to be found the origin of that fierce war which we are about to relate, and which occupied a century of the history of both countries. It would be melancholy to contemplate the blood spilled, the misery caused, and the time expended, in a strife which could have no other termination than to leave the two countries precisely in the relative position which they occupied at its commencement, if that war had not left such a brilliant record of noble deeds and martial virtues on both sides, as to elevate the character and the pride of both nations, and to heroise Europe in the same degree that the Peloponnesian war had heroised Greece. The result of the Anglo-French war, instead of being conquest or degradation, was, on the contrary, to prove each nation indestructible, and to create on both sides the sentiments of rivalry, no doubt, but at the same time of mutual respect, which precluded the two nations for many years from engaging in serious national hostilities: and when, after four centuries, another and an equally fierce war broke out, the result of five and twenty years of combat was then the same—the impossibility of either country to crush or subdue the other.

It is remarkable that no very serious hostility arose between the countries until both were knitted in strength,

and had attained their natural development. At first, there were powerful and martial kings in England, weak and poor-spirited monarchs in France. The princes of the family of William of Normandy showed the forbearance of the strong towards the weak. With Richard this superiority expired, and Philip Augustus despoiled John. The English nobles were too much absorbed in defending their own insular rights and liberties to care for events upon the continent. This was fortunate for France; for its kings during the thirteenth century showed no military talents, and placed themselves more in antagonism than in identity with the chivalric spirit of their subjects. Philip Augustus played a poor part in the Holy Land. Even St. Louis was a most incapable commander. The west of France was won by lawyers, the south by ecclesiastics. Where military efforts were exclusively employed, as in Flanders, the result was failure.

This did not proceed from want of martial spirit in the nation, but from the kings' being jealous of the classes possessed of such spirit, and making it their policy to set aside the noblesse and take council of legists and of ignoble persons. The chivalry of the period went into the service of Charles of Anjou, and later, into that of Charles of Valois: royalty offered no patronage or career to them. Feudal habits of war were allowed to decay, whilst the wise efforts made by some monarchs to replace or reinforce feudal armies by the militia of towns, were abandoned. All that government looked to was finances. Troops, hastily got together, were sufficient for the military requirements of the period, which, except on the side of Flanders, were not great. A succession of unwarlike monarchs, skilful and fortunate in acquiring territory, had yet by no means organised the country to resist a powerful enemy, or defend its newly acquired possessions.

France, however, had the great advantage in the

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struggle of being the attacked, and not the attacking party. Whatever force England employed must necessarily be transported to a distant field of strife: feudal service was therefore impossible. Troops had to be paid and equipped as well as transported; and thus it was only after many years of war that the English were able to strike a blow. But the English king had at least a nation freely and powerfully organised behind him. The French might have a national spirit, but they had no means of developing or manifesting it. The English king summoned his parliament, appealed to his good towns, explained to them his interests and his wrongs; and the loyalty and patriotism of his subjects supported him even in over-sea warfare. Such freedom and spontaneous action in the country and its population would have been far more profitable to the prince who stood on his defence, like the monarch of France. Had there been national parliaments, national subsidies, had towns their liberties, and every class its free expression, the English could never have marched from one end to the other of the kingdom; but in the thirteenth century every vestige, and almost every tradition, of liberty had disappeared from the soil of France, trodden down by lawyers, priests, and functionaries.

The continuous rule of the legists had in truth been more fatal to the burgess-class of France than even to the aristocracy. The nobles were repressed, not destroyed, and retained all the means for recovering lost privileges and resuscitating as a formidable caste; but the municipal liberties of towns in France were crushed and confiscated by the very politicians who rose from the middle class. *Communes* had been formed in France for the purpose of defence against feudal exaction and local tyranny. When the Crown abolished these, it succeeded to the patronage of civic interests; and the burgesses, trusting to the monarch and his ministers, seemed to desire no other jurisdiction or protection.

Hence the gradual decay and disappearance of *communes*. Charles the Fair abolished that of Laon, one of the oldest and most celebrated. Mayors and sheriffs either disappeared from the other towns or sank into mere king's officers. The insignificant franchises granted about this time to Macon offer a fair specimen of the benefits which the French kings conferred on their towns in lieu of municipal freedom.* There were cities in Flanders which would have preferred the same servitude. The rich citizens of Ghent, for example, would have been gladly protected from their own democracy by the sovereignty of France. If such was the case at Ghent, the same motive, we may be sure, had stronger influence in French towns. The inhabitants might not have felt themselves aggrieved or deteriorated by this decline of their local liberties; but it deprived them of all energy for local exertions. It facilitated the reaction of the noblesse, which, when it returned to power and privilege under the Valois, threw the middle class aside, and whilst it levied money of them, no longer admitted the townsfolk to the military defence of the country, nor to any participation in political influence.

This effacement of the middle class must not be altogether attributed either to the tyranny of the Crown or to the arrogance of the noblesse. The supineness of the citizens themselves must bear no small portion of the blame. It is, indeed, characteristic of the French peasant and the French townsman, in all ages of their history, that they readily and cheerfully abdicated power and privilege, and abandoned high and political influence to the wealthy and the nobly born. It was only at intervals, when those higher classes proved unequal to the task and unworthy of the trust, that the lower ranks of French life arose, took policy and war into their own hands, unfortunately displaying fury along with vigour,

* The ordonnance conferring franchises on Macon was issued in the first years of John.

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making a contemptuous disrespect for birth, rank, and experience succeed to a far too servile respect for them, and thus rendering the history of France a record of centuries of tyranny, interrupted by intervals of licence and revolution.

One of the causes of the decay of importance and of influence in the French towns of this period was their backwardness in taking the field. This was no doubt in some measure owing to their want of freedom. When Flanders was threatened, the Flemish towns poured forth their whole male population in arms, repelling and exterminating the armies of France. The French townsfolks felt by no means so deeply interested in the wars which it pleased the king to wage; and when recommended to send their militia, it was no longer the citizens who marched, but the poorer persons of the towns,—the refuse of them, in fact,—whom the wealthier sent to the field.* It was upon seeing the citizens themselves thus shrink from military service that the king asked them no longer for contingents of men, but supplies of money; and, as the knight's military service in England was paid in scutage, so was the townsman's military service in France converted into a pecuniary contribution.

Although France was so little prepared for a great national war, a king mounted its throne who was almost certain to provoke one. The princes of the family of Valois had always represented the ideas and the interests of the noblesse during the preceding reigns, when reasons of state, maxims of law, and necessities of finance had led the Government to look to other councillors and undergo other influence. With the accession of Philip of Valois, the noblesse recovered

* Philip the Fair was obliged to issue an ordonnance to the authorities at Amiens not to send to the Flemish war any soldier who had less than 100 livres value in moveables. Philip, in other words, wanted men of substance, not beggars, such as they sent him.

that ascendancy of which they had been so long deprived. And this influence they displayed with a petulance and a pride which could not but provoke what they most loved, a war. Flanders first offered itself, but its resistance at that period was not of long duration. A crusade was meditated against the Moors of Spain, and against the Saracens of Palestine. In the meantime a series of provocations was stirring up Edward of England to avenge the wrongs of his country and his ancestors. If he long hesitated, it was the magnitude of the enterprise rather than the want of cause or right that stopped him. But event after event came to increase his resentment as well as his confidence, and both countries were precipitated into the deadly struggle.

"Charles the Fair having expired, the barons assembled to take into consideration the government of the kingdom. The queen was pregnant, and until the sex of her issue was known, the title of king could not be assumed. The only question was to whom, as nearest in blood, the government of the kingdom should be committed, especially as in France a female could not succeed to the crown. The English said that their king, the son of Philip the Fair's daughter, and consequently nephew of the late monarch, was, as nearest of kin, more entitled to the regency and to the throne, if the queen did not bring forth a prince, than Philip of Valois, who was but the cousin of the deceased monarch. Many learned in the civil and canon law were of this opinion. Isabella, the daughter of Philip the Fair, might, they alleged, be set aside on account of her sex; but a prince of the right sex, and of the nearest affinity, ought to succeed. The men of France, incapable of suffering the idea of becoming subjects of an English prince, replied, that Edward could only succeed by the right of his mother; and when the mother had no right, the son could have none. This opinion being accepted as the most sensible, was ap-

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proved of by the barons, and the government delivered to Philip of Valois. He accordingly received the homage due to the crown of France, but not that due to the crown of Navarre, which the Count of Evreux, claimed by right of his wife, daughter of Louis Hutin."

This narrative, by the continuator of Nangis, is sufficiently correct. Navarre was given to the Count of Evreux, he consenting to receive pecuniary compensation for the counties of Champagne and Brie. In April the queen was confined of a daughter; Philip instantly assumed the title of King, and gave orders for his coronation at Rheims. At the same time, by a letter dated Northampton, the 16th day of May, Edward appointed two bishops as procurators to make good his claim to the kingdom of France. At the close of the same month Philip was solemnly crowned at Rheims.

The first act of the new king as Regent seems to have been to order the treasurer of the late monarch, Pierre Remi, to be tortured—thus compelled to confess treason and finally hanged. He also summoned his barons to support him in a military expedition into Flanders. Count Louis was obstructed in his government, and especially in his levy of taxes, by the people of Bruges, Ypres, and other cities; those of Ghent alone remaining true to him and to France. Louis demanded aid of Philip. The greater part of the barons were of opinion that the season was too far advanced to admit of an expedition that year; but Philip, anxious to signalise his reign, turned to the constable, Gautier de Chatillon, and asked his advice. "The brave heart finds all times opportune for fighting," replied the constable. The king accordingly summoned his lieges to meet him at the feast of the Madeleine in July, at Arras. "But the good towns," says the chronicler of St. Denis, "did not attend, giving their money instead, and staying at home to mind their cities."

The king's army was most numerous, divided into

ten divisions or battles, the nobles from every quarter hastening to evince their loyalty by attending the first summons of a new and chivalrous king. The citizens of West Flanders alone mustered to oppose the French, and not more than twelve thousand of them, according to Froissart, took post under Colas Zannequin on the hill of Cassel. They were confident, however, and hung out a flag with a cock painted on it, and an inscription saying, that this cock would crow, ere the upstart king, the *roi trouvé*, would find his way into Cassel. The Flemings remained tranquil for several days, with the French encamped before them. At last at the hour of vespers when the latter were preparing supper, the Flemings marched out in three bodies, fell upon them, and penetrated into their camp. Philip, like his namesake at Mons en Puelle, was obliged to withdraw, and it was his chaplains who helped him to put on his armour. When the king showed himself with the *oriflamme*, the knights rallied round him from all quarters, the foot, who were more numerous, continuing their flight. The Flemings had failed in mastering as well as surprising Philip's camp, and now assailed by the French cavalry (having none of their own), they stood firm and fought for a long time a defensive battle. At last a charge made a breach in their solid phalanx, the French knights poured in, and the Flemings were routed and slaughtered. One of the divisions regained the hill of Cassel, but all alike perished. The king estimated the loss of his enemies at twenty thousand. He entered the several towns one after the other in triumph, took a thousand citizens of Bruges as hostages, tore down the bells, levelled the walls, and proscribed municipal liberties. When Philip delivered the county of Flanders, thus humbled and mutilated, to its lord, he addressed him, as the continuator of Nangis records, in the following words: "Count, I came hither at your request, and in all probability because you were

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too negligent in executing justice. I could not have come, as you know, without great expense; yet out of my liberality, I restore you your land quiet and pacified, and I forgive you the expense. But another time take care. Let me not be obliged to return by your over-clemency, for if I do, it shall be for my own profit."

Thus exhorted, adds the chronicler, Count Louis so exerted himself that, within three months, he had put 10,000 persons to various kinds of death. In this manner was signalised the triumph of the French noblesse over the citizens of West Flanders.

Edward the Third cannot be considered to have undertaken the government of England until the death of Mortimer and the imprisonment of the Queen Mother in October, 1330. In the first years after Philip's accession, Isabella seemed inclined to dispute his title, and steps were taken to conclude alliances against France. But the success of Philip in the Flemish war, and the hostile attitude of the English barons, as well as the discontent of the English people with the concessions made to Scotland, precluded the idea of prosecuting the quarrel with France. Edward, therefore, at his mother's bidding, proceeded to Amiens in the spring of 1329, and did homage to Philip, maintaining his rights to those portions of his possessions in the south of France which the French king still retained. But this act of submission led to disputes, one monarch pretending that it was homage *simple*, the other that it was homage *liege*. Philip thought the opportunity favourable for invading Guienne, the power of Isabella and Mortimer being paralysed by their many enemies. The king levied an *aide* upon his barons for the expedition. So far had these hostile intentions proceeded, that the Count of Alençon, Philip's brother, attacked the English in Xaintonge, and took and burned the castle of Saintes. On the death of Mortimer, however,

and the assumption of full power by Edward, Philip returned to more amicable sentiments, and promised to make amends for the affair of Saintes, as well as for other griefs. The monarchs seemed on most friendly terms; they spoke of proceeding to the Holy Land together, and of contracting a marriage between their children.

The subsequent coolness and enmity between them is universally, and apparently with justice, attributed to the malice of Robert of Artois, who fled to England from France, and became the inseparable companion and counsellor of Edward. Robert had undoubtedly been wronged in the judgment which took Artois from him, the direct heir, and gave it to a female and a collateral, merely because she was more closely allied to the reigning King of France. When Robert asserted his rights in arms, Philip the Long was unable to reduce him; and if Robert submitted, and even constituted himself a prisoner, it was on the understanding that the unjust sentence against him should be revoked, and the county restored to him. On this understanding, Robert married the daughter of Charles of Valois. Nevertheless Philip the Long and Charles the Fair evaded the demands and expectations of Robert, who reckoned on having his rights at last from his brother-in-law, Philip of Valois. Robert accordingly served the crown with zeal, and was one of the principal supporters of this prince's claims to the throne. "Thus, on Philip's accession, Robert became every thing in France," says Froissart. There having been two sentences of the Court of Parliaments against Robert's claim, it was difficult to rescind them, at least without some new plea, some yet unproduced documents, in his favour. Such, probably, was the remark with which Philip and his law officers met the demands of Robert.

If a document existed likely to prove favourable for his claim, it must have fallen into the hands of those

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who had robbed him of the county. The Countess Mahaut, to whom Philip the Fair had adjudged Artois, died soon after the accession of Philip of Valois. Her chief counsellor and confidant had been the Bishop of Arras. He also dying, left voluminous papers, some of which had been secreted and carried off from Arras by a woman named Divion, mistress of the prelate. The Countess lived long enough to endeavour, by law or vengeance, to get back the papers from Divion. Aware of these circumstances, Jeanne, the Countess of Artois, set to work and procured from this woman, or caused to be forged by her, certain documents. One was a letter from the Bishop of Arras to Robert d'Artois, craving pardon for having purloined the documents. Another was a charter of Robert Count d'Artois, the grandfather, settling Artois upon his son, the father of Robert. M. Michelet, long attached to the office of the archives of France, and skilled in all concerning them, declares the documents, which still exist, to be forgeries. Robert d'Artois boldly produced them, claimed by virtue of them to be restored to the possession of his county: and, as a proof of what value was men's testimony in those days, he brought upwards of fifty witnesses in support of his false documents. Had the king been prosecutor, these, no doubt, would have been found authentic enough for the parliament. But Robert d'Artois was no friend of the legists, and parliament remained firm to its first decision. The king's *procureur* objected to the documents, and Robert, summoned to say whether he would stand by them, hesitated. The woman, Divion, was seized, put to the torture, and acknowledged her forgery. The parliament ordered her to be burned. Robert d'Artois being proved so far culpable as to have plotted with her, was accused, moreover, of aiding her to poison the Countess Mahaut of Artois. Robert fled to Brabant. The king caused him to be condemned for forgery, and deprived of his estates and honours. His wife, his sons,

and relatives were imprisoned, and, the legists accusing him of attempting to murder and to kill the king by sorcery, drove Robert altogether from the continent, and compelled him to take refuge in England.

The fugitive was well received by Edward, appointed of his council, and endowed with ample domains. He accompanied the king in his expedition to Scotland, and was one of those, says Froissart, who induced Edward to give good terms to the Scotch garrison of Berwick, Robert being desirous that "the English would leave Scotland, and undertake a war with France." Edward at first would not listen to such suggestions. He even bore with patience the interference of the French king in favour of the Scotch, and was continually issuing safe conducts for French negotiators to communicate with Scotland.

Neither did Philip himself meditate a war with England. In 1332 he assumed the cross, and counted upon having Edward as a fellow crusader. On the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son, John, with the daughter of John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, he induced those present to assume the cross with him. These were the King of Bohemia, the King of Navarre, the Dukes of Burgundy, of Brittany, of Brabant, and of Bourbon, with a multitude of nobles of scarcely less rank. It was the desire of Philip to gratify the noble class, which, for the first time, thronged exclusively the court of a king of France.

The names of legists or financiers do not appear. Henceforth the councillors of parliament laboured in their vocation without any of their body being prominent. The nobles secured themselves, as each could, against the encroachments of these their natural foes. The Duke of Brittany obtained that his subjects should not be compelled to answer any appeals. When a war subsidy was ordained, the barons, who had *haute* justice, were empowered to levy it on their own domains. A

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royal decree of 1330, lopped off one-fourth of all debts to Lombards, which must have been a considerable relief to the borrowing nobles, and, on a difference arising as to the nature or amount of the debt, the debtor of good reputation was to be believed upon his oath. The right of private war was at the same time allowed to the Aquitains.

Very different was Philip's treatment of his townsfolk. He at first, indeed, promised not to adulterate the coin, but bring it back to the same fineness and value as in the reign of St. Louis. But even this was converted into a peculation and abuse, and either caused much wrong or was abandoned as impracticable. Municipalties he suppressed whenever an opportunity occurred; and he destroyed the *beffroi* and took down the bells of Laon, just as he had treated the towns of Flanders. An ordinance of Philip respecting Toulouse, shows that Philip the Fair had neutralized municipal liberty by keeping the election of the *capitouls* in the hands of his officers. Though Philip relaxed the rigour of this rule, he not the less maintained the principle.

A more difficult task was to remedy those grievances which the nobles and the legists complained of on the part of the clergy, without, at the same time, offending the Church on the eve of a crusade. Since the death of Philip the Fair and the resuscitation of the power of the seignorial courts, the clergy had renewed their exertions to bring the greater number of causes within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals. Not only were all cases of testament and usury to be tried by the clergy, but all claims of debt in which there was a breach of promise or faith. Any wrong, in fact, that could be styled a sin, was evoked by the clergy, who, at the same time, were powerless to enforce their sentence except by excommunication. The abuse of this had been monstrous: persons were excommunicated and deprived of the consolations of religion, because they had not paid,

or could not pay, a debt which the ecclesiastical courts had decided they should pay. To these were added all kinds of subterfuges for levying fines and taxes. Thus the Bishop of Amiens was in the habit of levying a tax upon those guilty of incontinence. He extended this so far as to compel the citizens to pay for the liberty of living with their own wives. This pretention, the subject of a special ordonnance of Philip of Valois, in 1330, is a sample of the extravagant legislation, to which the fiscality of the clergy proceeded.

Griefs of this kind were so many, that the king summoned his prelates to hear them stated in detail by his advocate-general. That legist proposed sixty-six articles to remedy these abuses. He insisted that all disputes about property belonged to the lay courts, and all cases of debt. In whatever trial ecclesiastical judges passed sentence, they should allow it to be executed by secular authorities, instead of making use of excommunication. The clergy were in the habit of tonsuring a great portion of the population, never destined to become priests, and thus withdrew them from the lay authorities. To these most just complaints, the clergy replied, that Peter had judged and condemned Ananias and Sapphira for robbery and deceit, which proved that the clergy was the only proper judge of this as of all crimes; that the distinction between temporal and spiritual was absurd, that Moses and Aaron enjoyed both authorities, and that the Pope wielded one sword as well as another. The king was perplexed to give judgment in this matter; he hesitated. The threatened ordonnance did not appear, but the advocate-general told the prelates that if they did not themselves correct the abuses complained of, the king would see to putting them to rights himself in due time. Fleury has given very fairly the arguments on both sides.

Philip of Valois knew not what use to make of that absolute power, which the efforts of so many kings had

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built up. Policy, he evidently had none. He liked the splendour, magnificence, and pride of a court; and, consequently, preferred his noblesse to any other class of society. Still he showed, in the case of Robert d'Artois, his determination not to allow any of them to dictate or impose upon him. He consulted his lawyers as in the case of Church encroachments, but shrunk from ordonnance or legislation in their favour. Abroad, Philip was generally uncertain in purpose. True, indeed, to the principal aim of his predecessor, he had humbled Flanders: he had endeavoured to secure the reversion of Brittany to the crown by marriage, and extended his patronage over Dauphiné. He had a vague jealousy of England; towards the Emperor Louis of Bavaria he felt a strange rivalry, and, had an opportunity presented itself of prosecuting that rivalry, Philip would haye done so.

But, in truth, the kings of France had not increased their influence or power by the vassalage to which they had reduced the Papacy. Although the pontiffs were at the mercy and under the dictation of the court of France, its monarchs knew not how to derive proportionate advantage from what was apparently such great good fortune. Whilst the popes remained almost prisoners at Avignon, Italy escaped from their influence, whilst Germany established by positive legislation its total independence of Rome.* Benedict the Twelfth, weary of French vassalage, was anxious to return to Italy, and Philip hastened to Avignon to retain him. Desirous of profiting by his visit, Philip made a number of demands. According to Villani, he asked the Pontiff, as the price of his proceeding to the Holy Land, to give

* In the Diet of Frankfort, where it was declared that the Pope had no authority whatever in the election of Emperor, and that the oath taken by that potentate on his coronation was one of protection, not allegiance, to the Pope. The Diet declared the papal intervention null; thus abolishing, long before Luther, the papal right of excommunication. To deny this declaration was treason, &c.

him all his treasure, together with the tenths of all christendom for six years, to be paid up in three. He demanded the right of investiture and promotion to all benefices in his dominions. He desired the kingdom of Arles resuscitated for his son, and the vicariate of Italy for his brother Charles. The Italian, Villani, probably exaggerates these demands of the French king; but at least they show the incertitude of his aims, and his perplexity as to what should be the fitting goal for his ambition. CHAP. X.

The monarch's incertitude was, however, soon relieved. Edward the Third became more and more irritated at the support which the French and Flemings gave to the Scots: in June, 1335, he issued an order from Newcastle to the Cinque Ports to arm, and intercept a naval expedition fitting out at Calais for Scotland. In February, 1336, an edict appeared ordering all Englishmen, from sixteen to sixty, to be prepared to repel invasion. Still negotiations continued; and it was not till August of the same year that Edward announced to his subjects the refusal of the French king to cease rendering active assistance to the Scottish foe. At the same time the Count of Flanders threw off the mask by arresting all the English traders in his dominions, and Edward was obliged to respond to it by a similar act.

The following year was spent by both monarchs in preparing alliances, and by Edward in making the most active and unusual preparations for war. Philip hired large bodies of Germans, both men-at-arms and light troops. By marrying the heiress of the Duke of Brittany to one of his relatives, he hoped to have secured the allegiance of that prince and family; but Philip's attention was chiefly turned towards the south and the conquest of Guienné, for which enterprise he had the succour of the nobles of the Pyrenees as well as of Languedoc. He

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seemed not to expect to be seriously attacked on the side of Flanders.

Yet it was in that direction that Edward principally turned his efforts, expending the year 1337 in negotiations with the princes whose territories extended from Antwerp to Cologne. The English king had married the daughter of the Count of Hainault, who was the first that he gained, or hoped to have gained; the Duke of Brabant, the Duke of Gueldres, and the Archbishop of Cologne also listened to Edward's proposals, and willingly received his subsidies. They might bring into the field a thousand knights. But Edward pushed his quest for allies still further: he engaged the Duke of Austria to invade Burgundy, he concluded an agreement with the Count Palatine* for a subsidiary force, and even obtained a promise from the Emperor Louis of Bavaria that he would aid in the war against France with an army of 2000 knights; for this his Imperial Majesty was to be paid 300,000 florins.

These counts and knights observed to the envoy of Edward that, notwithstanding their prowess, the Flemish artisans would prove far more potent auxiliaries against France than any number of lordly chivalry. Edward approved of the idea; and the Bishop of Lincoln and other envoys proceeded to Ghent, "not sparing their money by the way." The subjection of Flanders had been caused by the rich citizens of Ghent proving false to the national cause, supported solely by the men of Bruges and West Flanders. This enabled the democracy of Ghent to triumph over them, and to become organised under the lead of a brewer of that city, named Arteveld. Froissart gives of this man a formidable and not a favourable account, representing him as going about with some eighty followers, who struck down and slew all who were inimical to him, and who

* Edward was to pay the Count Palatine fifteen Florentine florins a month for every man-at-arms.

established by his paid agents a similar dictatorship in the other towns. Those who were partisans of the Count of Flanders he expelled, taking half their revenues for the use of the State, and leaving the other half to their widows and relatives. The envoys of Edward addressed themselves to this new kind of popular sovereign, and were well received by him. He summoned consuls or deputies from the other towns, and these soon came to an accord that trade should be carried on as usual, and wool imported from England, notwithstanding the prohibitions of France and the Count of Flanders. These obstructive measures had already caused considerable distress amongst the artisan class, and the English alliance was with them the most popular, as procuring the materials of manufacture.

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To Edward wool was at once money and alliance. When he summoned his parliament, what he demanded of it was so many packs of wool, which he transferred to Antwerp, then part of Brabant, enabling the king to pay the large subsidies which he had stipulated. Sometimes he did not await the formality of parliamentary grant in order to the seizure. Whilst the working and manufacturing class of Flemings thus profited by the English, the chiefs and Arteveld himself received money for the occasion. Still, however easy to win over the Flemings to neutrality, it was difficult to induce them to enter upon active war with France. The artisan was ready to quit his loom for a brief campaign to repel an invading foe; but prolonged or distant warfare was opposed to his interests and habits. The French, however, and the Flemish aristocracy did all in their power to provoke the civic democracy; they enticed from Ghent almost the only personage of birth who favoured the popular party, and had entertained the envoys of Edward. This was a knight of Courtray, father-in-law of Arteveld; when he fell into their hands, they decapitated him, to the great irritation of the men of Ghent.

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The Flemish knights, in order to intercept the frequent communication and envoys passing between England and the low countries, took possession of the Isle of Cadsand, close to Walcheren, and lying in wait there for the English, obliged them in going or in returning home to take the route of Dordrecht, instead of sailing direct from Antwerp. Edward no sooner learned this, than he fitted out an expedition in the Thames under Lord Derby and Sir Walter Manny, of six hundred knights and two thousand archers. These assailed Cadsand, defeated the Flemish knights, and captured Guy of Flanders, who, after some delay, joined the English party.

In October, 1337, Edward took the important step of laying claim to the throne of France by right of his mother, sister of Philip the Fair, and of declaring Philip of Valois, descended from a brother of that monarch, a wrongful usurper. This he announced in letters from Edward, King of France and England, to his allies in the Low Countries; and he at the same time appointed the Duke of Brabant his Vicar-General in the kingdom of France. The king's allies received this solemn announcement, but do not seem to have acted upon it; the Duke of Brabant, far from assuming the office of Vicar-General, on the contrary assuring Philip of Valois of his friendship.

In the spring of 1338, Edward embarked for Antwerp with what forces he could muster, hoping to make a brilliant campaign with the princes of the low countries. They showed very little alacrity, and though willing to receive large sums, prepared to prove themselves as little hostile to the French King as was consistent with their receiving the money from the English. The Emperor, though he had promised to be ready by St. Andrew's Day, was too anxious for a reconciliation with the Pope to defeat his purpose by aiding in an invasion of

France; and Edward was reduced to recommence the task of negotiation.

He demanded an interview of the Emperor, who by this time had every reason to join zealously in an alliance against Philip. Pope John the Twenty-second, from Avignon, had waged as inveterate a war against him, as his predecessor had against the Hohenstauffen. And Benedict the Twelfth, though of himself willing to absolve the Emperor and reconcile him to the Church, was forbidden and prevented doing so by Philip. Louis therefore now received Edward's proposal with sincerity, and it was agreed that the monarchs should hold a solemn diet together at Coblentz. The meeting took place in September, in the public square of that town, thrones being prepared for the two monarchs. Edward appealed to the Emperor as the first potentate of Christendom against the usurpation by the kings of France of the patrimony and rights of the Plantagenets; and Louis of Bavaria recognised the justice of these complaints from the wrongs of the same kind which the German Emperors had suffered from the Capets. He accordingly promised his aid to Edward, and created him his vicar-general in the low countries of Germany. After the ceremony, the English king hastened to display his diploma, as vicar of the Emperor, to the lieges of this potentate in Brabant and the Walloon districts, and thus fortified, as he imagined, hoped to strike an effectual blow in the campaign of 1339.

It was late in that year, before Edward was joined by his German allies. Some time was passed in solemnly declaring war, and then the English advanced to Cambray, which was garrisoned by French troops. But as it did not belong to the King of France, there was no profit in capturing it; Edward, therefore, pursued his march, against the advice of many of his allies, into France, upon which his relative, the Count of Hainault, formally quitted his banner for that of Philip.

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Edward nevertheless advanced towards St. Quentin, at the head of about 40,000 men. Philip of Valois had mustered an army nearly double in number that of his enemy, there being 40,000 infantry raised by the money of the towns, and 20,000 more Genoese and Italian foot: three divisions of men-at-arms were each 15,000 strong. When the armies were in presence, Edward sent to request the King of France to appoint a day for the battle. It is remarkable, and is a proof how little the French language was known in the English army, that a follower of the Duke of Brabant was chosen for his knowledge of French to convey the message. Philip eagerly fixed a day for the battle: but with all his chivalry, the monarch hesitated. King Robert of Sicily, skilled in the science of astrology, had written to warn the King of France not to engage in combat with the English, whilst Edward was with them in person. The French monarch in consequence showed reluctance to engage, and the auxiliaries of both armies took the pretext to separate. Edward's German allies withdrew, and Philip distributed his men-at-arms amongst the garrisons of the frontier. He at first expressed chagrin; but his councillors recommended him to be content with his advantages. The King of England, they said, after his expenditure and efforts, had withdrawn without fighting, and he could never hope to conquer the kingdom of France in this fashion.

It was subsequent to this bootless campaign, that Froissart fixes the time of Edward's assuming habitually the title, and quartering the arms, of King of France with his own. He had already announced the claim both to his parliament and allies; and his not following it up by the external assumption of the dignity, suggested the idea that he was not serious in these demands, and that he advanced them more as a threat, than as a right to be vindicated. The suspicion was well-founded. Edward could have few hopes of dethroning Philip of

Valois, and placing himself upon the French throne. But the Capetian kings had despoiled their English brethren of the greater portion of their continental patrimony, by a series of feudal and legal pretensions, not even so well founded as Edward's claim to the throne of France; and the object of the English prince was to set one of these against the other, until he not only recovered the provinces of which himself and his ancestors had been despoiled, but compelled the French monarch to waive that assertion of suzerainty, which, strained as it had been by legists, had become incompatible with the right, dignity, or security of the sovereign acknowledging it. The kings of France had wisely laid it down as a maxim, that they would do no homage. Edward felt the necessity of asserting and establishing the same rule.

It was impossible for an English king of that age not to feel how deeply his house and country had been wronged by France, and by what injustice and trickery they had been despoiled. That the acquisitions of Philip Augustus and his successors were merely an inevitable development of nationality, an irrefragable resumption of their own by the French people, was a truth that could not yet have dawned upon the conviction of a Plantagenet. He knew merely the spoliation and the unworthy manner of it, and he was fully warranted in seeking the recovery of his heritage by counter-claim or battle.

But however humiliating it was for an English prince to abide by the past, and leave his rights in oblivion or abeyance, Edward was neither prepared nor inclined to disturb existing arrangements, and break the peace. Nor was Philip prone to indulge in further provocation, until Robert d'Artois found not only refuge, but favour and protection, in England. The cause of Philip's great animosity to his relative is not fully explained; but certain it is, that from the time of

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Robert's reception at the English court, Philip began, of himself and through the Flemings, to send succours to Scotland, and encourage the enemies of the British monarch.

It was then that Edward, finding peace impossible, prepared for war, and determined to carry it on in the way that could alone lead to a satisfactory result. To engage in the war, and incur its sacrifices, with the sole view of re-entering the continental dominions of his family, and re-constituting himself therein as vassal of the King of France, would merely have been to perpetuate strife, and subject himself evermore to the insolent greed and chicane of the lawyers of the Paris court. The most obvious mode of flinging off such usurped suzerainty was to put forward his claim to the crown of France, as descended from Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, and sister of the three last kings. Philip of Valois claimed the throne by no better feudal right. The Salic law, afterwards invoked, could not possibly apply. It merely ruled, in centuries past, the inheritance of fiefs, and fiefs now passed to females. The French kings and court had adjudged Artois to the female, and excluded the male heir. If any other rule had been adopted with regard to the crown, and daughters had been of late once or twice set aside, this was done by the law of expediency and power, not by that of precedent or right; and if Philip's claim to the regency, when the last king's widow had been left pregnant, was preferred to Edward's, it was, as the historian of the time relates, simply because the latter was an Englishman and a foreigner. The greatest bar to Edward's claim of the crown of France through his mother was certainly, that if it descended to females, there were other females nearer to the succession, the daughters of Louis Hutin and of Philip the Long.

The war, however, which Edward undertook against Philip of Valois did not originate in this claim; the latter

directly provoked it by his abettal of the Scotch, and Philip's predecessors had given the most ample and just cause to the representatives and heirs of the Plantagenets to seek to recover the provinces of which they had been despoiled. Had this spoliation, it may be repeated, been the result of conquest and of a fair and open struggle, the English kings might have been prepared to abide by it; but as it had notoriously been the result of treachery and chicane and the taking advantage, by crafty French princes, of the imbecility of English ones, a monarch of spirit and talent, like Edward, could not but have been prompted to vindicate the rights of his family. The war once resolved on, Edward put forward his claim to the throne of France, as he brought forth every other weapon and element of force. It was well calculated both to incite the English noblesse to aid him, and such of the French nobles as were jealous of Philip to take English service without appearing traitors. The Flemings themselves seem to have been much influenced by this last motive. It was they who pressed Edward to assume the arms and bearing of King of France: he, indeed, avowed in some of his public documents, that he did so at the request of his friends and allies the Flemings. But notwithstanding his public assumption of the crown and title of King of France, Edward showed himself ever ready to waive the pretensions to it, on the condition that more or less of the continental possessions of his family were ceded to him, not in vassalage, but in full sovereignty.

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French writers are, in general, enthusiastic admirers of the exclusively male succession to the throne, which was at this time established, and which all Edward's efforts could not shake. They attribute to it much of the unity and grandeur of the monarchy. Yet these great results might have been attained, without continuing the royal line of descent in one family, which had the disastrous effects of nursing the princes of France

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in overweening and unearthly ideas of their dignity and absolute rights, and contributed greatly to establish an oriental despotism in one of the feudal countries of the West. Another consequence of the Salic law was to accumulate upon the head of the reigning monarch all the sins of his predecessors and ancestors, through many centuries and generations, until the people rose and wreaked a vengeance for such accumulated crimes of despotism, with an extreme and extravagant fury, which proscribed humanity for a time, and rendered even freedom itself impossible for a long interval.

Edward the Third's assumption of the crown of France, which seemed not only drawing the sword, but flinging away the scabbard, was a promise to the Flemings that he would wage the "great war," and chiefly through their means and in behalf of their interests. For this purpose he prepared a great expedition, whilst his Queen Philippa spent the winter at Ghent among the good citizens, in order to encourage and attach them to England. But while Edward won the Flemings, his German allies grew lukewarm. He had learned in the last campaign to mistrust their sincerity: they now offered to make peace with France; but Philip rejected their offer, and sent troops to ravage Hainault.

In 1340, Edward had collected a formidable army on board a navy equally numerous. Philip directed his efforts to intercept this expedition, and to muster a fleet capable of performing so important a service. He took into pay great numbers of Genoese officers and seamen; granted the Normans several boons and privileges to induce them to fit out ships, and with these they surprised and burned Southampton, whilst the English visited Eu with equal severity. But on the other hand, the French captured two of their largest vessels, called the "Christopher" and the "Edouarda," in a naval engagement that lasted all day, and cost the lives of a thousand men. In June, Edward sailed from the

Thames with his army for the Scheldt, not expecting indeed to fight a naval combat, for there was a number of the ladies of his court on board. But on approaching l'Ecluse, he perceived the King of France's fleet covering the whole strait with their masts, manned by 40,000 Normans and Genoese, under the command of the admirals Behuchet and Barbavere. Edward's martial ire rose at the sight, and he determined to attack them, however superior in numbers. When the Genoese admiral saw the English fleet approach to attack, he recommended the French to cut cables and fight the battle in the open sea. Behuchet refused. Edward at each side of every great ship which bore his men-at-arms, placed lighter vessels full of archers, and keeping ships in reserve to supply the place of those injured or obliged to retreat, he bore down to the attack. The first aim of the English was their own large vessel, the "Christopher," captured the previous year. This they mastered, slaying all on board, and filling it with their own archers. In the midst of the action, which was fiercely contested, the Flemings came to the support of the English, and the day terminated in the total defeat of the French fleet, its capture and destruction. The French fought desperately; but their vessels being crowded, and having no room to manœuvre, they were first overwhelmed by the missiles, slaughtered in a hand-to-hand fight, and great numbers in striving to escape to shore were drowned. One of the French admirals perished in the action, the other was hanged after it; Barbavere, the Genoese commander, escaped.

This first naval battle between the two nations very much raised the confidence of the English and the alacrity of the Flemings. Edward had not only a larger army of his own than in the previous campaign, together with the troops of the German allies, but, in addition, 40,000 Flemings under Arteveld, besides those of West Flanders,

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who proceeded in the direction of St. Omer. This immense host, instead of marching to meet and overwhelm the French king, sate down before Tournay.

Edward sent from thence a challenge to Philip of Valois, as he styled him, to decide their quarrel by single combat, or by an encounter of a hundred knights on either side. Philip replied, on the last day of July, "That such a title could not be addressed to him; that the writer was his liege, and had no right to enter his dominions. He promised to cast the intruder out of the kingdom without loss of time; and that, as to the Flemings, he was confident they would rally to their own lord." Philip marched to the neighbourhood of Tournay with an army as formidable as that which he brought in the preceding year; but neither party were prepared to engage in a general action. The French hesitated to attack, and eleven weeks' siege made no impression upon Tournay. Robert d'Artois, who commanded the armed citizens of West Flanders, led them against St. Omer, not with the hope of capturing that important town, but for purposes of pillage and devastation. The Flemings were thus engaged in plundering one of the suburbs, when the French within, issuing by another gate, came round and surprised them in the rear, routing and slaying them as they fled, to the number of 4000. This disaster made such an impression on the army of West Flanders, that a panic seized it on the following morning, and all fled and dispersed to their homes.

If the campaign of the preceding year had taught Edward how little was to be expected from the Walloon or the German, he learnt this year that even the redoubtable Flemings would not enable him either to conquer France or to reduce Philip to just and reasonable terms. He therefore consented that Jeanne de Valois, sister of Philip and Countess of Hainault, should seek to bring about an accommodation. Her

efforts led to a six months' truce, consented to in order that plenipotentiaries from both monarchs might treat for the conclusion of a more definitive peace. CHAP. X.

The belligerents had scarcely suspended hostilities on the northern frontier of France, when a quarrel arose in another quarter, giving equal facilities for English interference, and offering to Edward more sincere, zealous, and martial allies than the Flemings had proved, whether knights or artisans. John, Duke of Brittany, had, with a feudal contingent, joined King Philip's army in the vicinity of Tournay: in returning from this expedition he expired at Caen, in the spring of 1341. This duke, who died without issue, was the eldest son of Arthur, Duke of Brittany and Marie de Limoges; a second son by the same marriage was called Guy, who left a daughter, Jeanne. By a later marriage with Yolande, Countess of Montfort, Duke Arthur had a third son, John, Count of Montfort, who, as the only male heir, claimed the duchy. The late duke, who hated his step-brother, had always treated his niece Jeanne as his heir, and she had been married to Charles of Blois, son of a sister of King Philip. The duke, however, left no testament, made no dying declaration, and had not consulted the States of Brittany. John of Montfort no sooner learned his brother's death than he hurried to Nantes, the capital, and was acknowledged by the citizens and people of the environs, who did him homage. John of Montfort then proceeded to Limoges, to which he certainly had no right, and where, on that account, perhaps, the late duke had kept his treasure; this he obtained, as well as his recognition by the citizens of that town. He had in the meantime summoned the nobles of Brittany to meet him at Nantes, where he proposed holding a solemn court with his duchess, the sister of the Count of Flanders. The Breton noblesse hesitated which side they would take in the disputed succession. Charles of Blois hastened to Paris to im-

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plore the aid of Philip of Valois to rescue his heritage of Brittany, whilst his rival took possession of Brest and Rennes, and then repaired to the King of England at Windsor, to inform him of his occupation of the duchy, and to do homage for the county of Richmond, held in England by the Dukes of Brittany.

On his return John found a summons from King Philip to repair to the Louvre, and attend the judgment of the French peers respecting the succession. He did not disobey the summons; but proceeded, accompanied by 400 knights, to Paris, where he presented himself to the king, and found him attended by his rival, Charles of Blois. The monarch reproached the duke with the visit and the homage that he had paid to the King of England, and then bade him await fifteen days for the judgment of the peers. John at once perceived in the attitude of the king and the aspect of the court the sentence that would be passed against his right, and, as this would have been accompanied or preceded by his arrest, he left Paris secretly, with a few of his followers, and retired in all haste to the duchy.

The judgment of the peers, or rather of King Philip, was of course in favour of his nephew, Charles of Blois, who mustered an army at Angers for the reconquest of the duchy. It consisted of 5000 men-at-arms, under the command of John, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, and 3000 Genoese archers, who had been engaged for the Flemish war. Descending the Loire, this army first attacked and took Chantoceaux, the frontier fortress of Brittany, and then laid siege to Nantes, in which Montfort had shut himself. A Breton historian records the cruelty of the French and the Duke of Normandy, in decapitating thirty knights taken in a fortress, and flinging their heads from engines into Nantes, in order to terrify the inhabitants. Certain it is, that the citizens of Nantes soon became weary of incurring extreme risk for the sake of De Montfort, and

they accordingly entered into several negotiations with the French commander, to whom they betrayed not only their town, but the duke himself. According to the account of De Montfort's own secretary, he was party to the negotiations, and was to have been liberated on the surrender of Nantes; but his enemies carried him off, and consigned him to the dungeons of the Louvre.

The cause of the captured prince was, however, taken up, with a spirit superior to his own, by his wife. She was at Rennes when tidings arrived of her husband's capture. She immediately appeared to her soldiers and partisans, showed to them her infant son, who, she declared, should one day be the restorer and avenger of his father; and, in the meantime, the party should not want a captain. She no doubt alluded to the King of England; but she proved herself a valiant and admirable captain. Having provided to the best of her power for some garrisons, she withdrew herself with her son to Hennebont on the sea, in order to be within reach of English succour, to demand which she despatched Amaury de Clisson. The countess had another reason for withdrawing westward: this was, that whilst the eastern towns of the duchy were inclined to the French and their supremacy, the western, or more truly Breton portion of Brittany, the *Brittania Brittanizans*, as the chronicler calls it, remained attached to De Montfort.

Charles of Blois remained during the winter quiet at Nantes. In the spring of the following year he advanced to Rennes, and laid siege to it. The garrison which the Countess of Montfort had left was commanded by William Cadoudal, who soon encountered the same difficulty which the count had experienced, the citizens being desirous of surrendering rather than endure the perils and risk of a siege. Cadoudal imprisoned the most turbulent, and continued his defence; but, finding this impossible with the townspeople's reluctance, he sur-

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rendered Rennes, on condition that he and his partisans should be allowed to withdraw.

Charles then marched to Hennebont, resolved to terminate the war and the subjugation of the duchy by the capture of the countess. The inhabitants of Hennebont were, however, genuine Bretons, not like the citizens of Nantes or of Rennes; and when the Genoese marched to the assault, "they lost more than they gained," says Froissart. The countess presided over the defence, and compelled her maids to unpave the streets and carry the stones to the walls to fling down on the assailants. Armed, and on horseback, she headed a sally from a postern, and fired the tents and baggage of the besieging army, making her escape when discovered to a neighbouring fortress, from whence she afterwards re-entered Hennebont under the beards of the besiegers. Despairing of taking the town by assault, Charles entrusted the siege to Louis of Spain, who undertook to batter and destroy the walls by huge engines. The Italians and Spaniards were more advanced at that time than the French in the science of attacking towns. They already used cannon, which were then but slowly creeping into France. The stones and heavy missiles that Louis of Spain now flung against the walls of Hennebont caused no little alarm, and gave occasion to the Bishop of Leon to persuade the Bretons to surrender. The countess, on the other hand, encouraged them to persist in the defence, but at last was obliged to limit her demand to three days; in that time the succour promised from England she thought might arrive. The bishop, however, laboured to bring about the surrender before the expiration of the time: when the countess, watching from a high tower, at last perceived sails, and summoned the townsfolk to observe them. It was Walter de Manny, De Clisson, and an army of English, coming with six thousand archers to their relief. No sooner had the

English landed, than a sortie was made by them and the besieged, which burnt the great engine, and put the besiegers in such disarray that on the victors re-entering the fortress, the countess "came to kiss Walter de Manny and his companions one after the other, two or three times," says Froissart, "like a valiant dame."

Louis of Spain and the French were obliged to withdraw; but they did so to wreak vengeance in their turn. They surprised Guerrande, not far north of the Loire's mouth, and finding there a great fleet of vessels, which had brought the wines of the Gironde, Louis seized them and filled them with his Spaniards and Genoese, as well as French soldiers, and set sail westward. They landed at Quimperlé, and, at first, met with small resistance. But Walter Manny, hearing of the expedition, sailed with the English from Hennebont, surprised Louis's fleet and army near Quimperlé, and so completely destroyed both, that of six thousand men that Louis of Spain had brought with him not one hundred escaped.

Edward himself was preparing an expedition to Brittany: he despaired of making any impression on France by means of the Flemings, and, as to his German auxiliaries, the Emperor had recalled his grant of the vicariat. In 1342, therefore, besides sending John Arteveld with two hundred knights and a body of archers to Bayonne, he despatched Robert of Artois with a considerable force to Brittany, on board of "forty-six vessels, great and small." The French, in order to intercept this fleet, mustered another of thirty-two vessels near Guernsey. These vessels were much larger, and manned by Genoese and Catalonians, as well as French sailors. The Countess of Montfort, who had been to England, was with Robert of Artois, and was not his least valiant support. The fleets engaged towards evening off the coast, but were separated at first by night and afterwards by a storm. The English

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fleet got into a port near Vannes, which town was soon recaptured. The greater portion of the English and the partisans of De Montfort then separated, some proceeding with the Countess to Hennebont, others to attack Rennes, so that Robert of Artois was left with but a small force in Vannes. He relied upon the fidelity of the Bretons, but the French had gained so many partisans among them, that Robert d'Artois was soon besieged in Vannes. The English were obliged to return from Hennebont to his relief, and there ensued several severe actions, in one of which Robert d'Artois received so severe a wound that he was obliged to be transferred to England for medical aid. He had scarcely reached London when he died, and was buried by Edward, with much regret and many honours, in St. Paul's.

Soon after the English king sailed in person for Brittany with a reinforcement of 2000 knights. He found Vannes in the power of the French, and strongly garrisoned by them. Edward, leaving a corps to observe it, advanced to Nantes, in which was Charles of Blois, with a force insufficient to take the field. The English undertook the siege, but despairing of reducing so considerable a town with a large garrison, they marched to the north of Brittany, ravaging as they went, and taking possession of Dinant. At the approach of another French army under the Duke of Normandy, Edward, whose force was much inferior, retreated to Vannes, and there entrenched his camp. The French dared not attack it, whilst Edward was not strong enough to combat with them in the open field. In this suspense, both armies suffering much from scarcity of provisions and the winter weather, two papal legates made their appearance and persuaded the monarchs to consent to a truce which was to last three years, from the next Michaelmas to that of 1343. It was agreed that each monarch was to take the Pope for arbiter,

and plead his cause at Rome. Edward empowered certain commissioners to fulfil this office, and negotiate concerning "the right which he had, or might have, to the kingdom and crown of France." That he was prepared to insist upon this right, is proved by his order to the authorities in Guienne to have all appeals from that province to the King of France addressed to him, in that capacity, at his court in London.

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These repeated truces were not the result of any diminution of inveteracy or of pretensions on either side, but of the impossibility to continue the payment and employ of such large armies. The history of England tells to what straits Edward was put, pawning his crown, and leaving his best friends and followers in prison, as pledges for his debts. Of Philip's financial or political acts we have not ample records; but sufficient exist to show the immense difficulty he found in supporting the military expenses of such campaigns. Knights and barons no longer marched without pay; and the infantry which Philip employed were Italians, Spaniards, and foreigners more accustomed to the use of the bow and of arms of all kinds, than were the more enslaved French peasants. These foreigners, of course, received a high pay, and cost the price of their transport. There must have been some deeper cause for this habit of employing foreigners in preference to native infantry, than the superior skill of the Italians. The French kings had long since preferred raising soldiers from any class, other than the feudal retainers of the noblesse. They relied, in consequence, on the militia of towns, and, subsequently, when the better citizens refused a military service, in which they occupied a rank and a consideration so much beneath the noble, the town rabble was hired and mustered for war. The want of courage and discipline in this refuse of society was soon apparent; and recourse was had to foreign mercenaries. This was no doubt

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one great cause of the inferiority of the French in subsequent actions to the English, whose monarchs not only employed nobles as officers, but raised soldiers from that class of independent yeomen which did not exist in France.

If to find proper soldiers was no easy task, to raise wherewith to pay them was a difficulty greater still. In 1342, Philip issued an ordonnance, establishing storehouses and gabelles of salt, a government monopoly, in fact, of this necessary of life. Taxes on trade, wholesale or retail, had for some time existed. The Italian merchants paid so much in the pound on imports and exports. The city of Paris, in order to pay for the men-at-arms which were furnished to the royal army, had been allowed to levy a duty on all sales and purchases in the markets. The fairs of Champagne had always paid a similar tax. The king now levied this generally at the rate of five deniers the livre; but the chief resource was alternately debasing the coin, and raising its standard, until there was no ascertaining or being certain of its value for a month together. This incertitude put a stop to trade, and a scarcity coinciding with it, produced such universal distress, that partial insurrection and a general feeling of discontent was the consequence.

In the meantime, the Pope made no progress in reconciling the two monarchs, or passing judgment upon their differences; and a cruel act of Philip's so aroused Edward's resentment, that although the year of the truce had not expired, he gave orders for recommencing war. Olivier de Clisson, a Breton noble, had been the prisoner of the English. Edward, it seems, released him instead of the Bishop of Leon, also his captive. This sufficed to inspire Philip with doubts of his fidelity, and, of a sudden, de Clisson, de Laval, and some twelve or thirteen Breton nobles, were seized, conveyed to Paris, and, without form of trial, or even

public accusation, decapitated. Several barons of Normandy were soon after seized, and as summarily slain, one of them, of the family of Harcourt, alone escaping. These acts were not more cruel and unjust than the tortures, trials, and condemnations of Philip the Fair; but they were worse precedents, evincing a contempt for even the forms of justice, and making barefaced murder and assassination one of the regular proceedings of government. Such crimes had of course their effects upon both noble and middle classes, and when, in some time after, one or the other attained power, they ordered without scruple those massacres and murders, of which the crown itself had set the first example. This oriental mode of dispatching men of the first noblesse by the sabre or the bowstring called forth not a remonstrance from the French aristocracy, whilst Edward the Third was unable to infringe upon the right of even one magnate without an opposition that compelled him to respect the law of his country and the privileges of his subjects.

Many of the decapitated nobles were at least friends of Edward. Without being guilty of treason, they might well have considered the rights of De Montfort in Brittany as superior to those of Charles of Blois. Edward denounced the assassinations committed by King Philip in issuing an order to his lieutenants to recommence the war. The French were by no means gladdened at this renewal of hostilities. They feared not so much the enemy as the tax-gatherer, and began to think that their intolerable burdens would be made permanent. In February 1345, therefore, Philip found it necessary to issue a proclamation, stating that it was not his intention to unite the gabelle of salt or the tax of four deniers the livre to his domain: in other words, he promised that they were not to be permanent. Moreover, he gave his royal promise that neither he himself, nor the Queen, nor his son, the Duke of Normandy, should make

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any more forced loans. These promises sufficiently testify the abuses they are intended to remedy. In the same year, the king seized for the use of the state a year's revenue of all his functionaries.

Edward had hitherto neglected Guienne, against which his enemies directed their principal efforts. The chief men of Bordeaux and Bayonne and the noblesse true to the English Crown came to the festivity which Edward gave on the occasion of his instituting the Order of the Garter, and their representations made so great an impression on him, that he despatched Lord Derby soon after, with 300 knights, 600 men-at-arms, and a greater number of infantry, to Bayonne. The French, not in force to defend the country south of the Dordogne, endeavoured to prevent Lord Derby from passing that river at Bergerac, and marching to the recovery of Perigord and the districts north of Bordeaux. The English accomplished this, the Genoese alone withstanding their arrows, and the troops which the French had raised in the county flying before them. Derby marched into Perigord, and so well provided was he with what Froissart calls artillery, his engines throwing immense stones, that all the fortresses in Upper Gascony, or Gascony north of the Garonne, submitted to him. The strongest of these was Auberoche, which fortress, as soon as Derby retired for the winter to Bordeaux, the nobles of the county in the French interest came to besiege. There were ten or twelve hundred of them, and Auberoche was hard pressed. Lord Derby and Sir Walter Manny instantly left Bordeaux, with 300 lances and 600 archers, and, with this small force, surprised and fell upon the army besieging Auberoche at the time of supper. The French were routed, and all the chief nobles of the district taken: every English soldier had two or three. The consequence of this victory was not only the fall of Réole and the places held by Philip north of the Garonne, but the capture of the

important town of Angoulême by Lord Derby. The general submission to the English commander was not only due to his prowess, but to his *gentillesse*, in preventing his soldiers from pillaging and burning the towns and massacring the prisoners, as was then generally the custom in war.

Whilst Lord Derby was reconquering Angoulême, Edward was endeavouring, by means of Arteveld, to turn the Flemish alliance to profit. Notwithstanding the English king's assumption of the arms and title of King of France, the Flemings seemed not disposed to go much further than neutrality. Arteveld himself ruling by the democracy, with the rich citizens opposed to him, felt himself neither secure at home nor able to direct the forces of the Flemings abroad. In order to strengthen his position, he proposed making the son of Edward (the Black Prince) Count of Flanders. The English king came with his fleet to Lecluse, and had an interview there with the town magistrates of the Flemings; they could not entertain his proposal without first consulting their townsmen. The people of Bruges and Ypres were not averse to having the Prince of Wales for their count; but with Ghent it was otherwise: there the enemies of Arteveld accused him of wishing to sell his country to the foreigner. They asked what had been done with all the money proceeding from the revenues that had been sequestered? The *great treasure*, they said, had been despatched to England. Arteveld hastened to Ghent to face his enemies, and refute them; but he had no sooner entered the streets than he perceived the efforts of his enemies to have prevailed, and the minds of his fellow-townsmen turned against him. He shut himself up in his hotel; harangued and tried to move the crowd from one of the windows. Their reply was, "Give us an account of the great treasure of Flanders." Arteveld promised that he would do this fully on the morrow. "No,"

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replied the crowd; "we must have an account of it immediately, lest you escape to England, whither you have already sent your treasure." Arteveld then wept, and reproached them with "having made him what he was, and now wanting to kill him. Recollect that your trade was lost when I took the government, and that I recovered all for you,—procured you abundance, and work, and peace; and for all the great good I did you, God knows I obtained little profit." Such reproaches were not calculated to move the mob, which clamoured but the more. Arteveld tried to escape to a neighbouring church; but his enemies seized him in the street, and slew him without mercy. Edward's first movement was to take vengeance on the Flemings for the death of their leader; but the towns of West Flanders convinced him that they regretted the act of the people of Ghent as much as he did.

The reverses which the French monarch suffered in Guienne had been thus compensated by Edward's loss of his Flemish ally, and, at the same time, by the death of John of Montfort. That prince, after his escape from the Louvre, had led succours from England to Brittany, but was able to do little towards changing the aspect of affairs or the relative position of parties, when he died at Hennebont. All the efforts of Philip were directed towards repelling Lord Derby. The French king assembled his estates in the north and in the south, but more to appease discontent than to command succour or adhesion: he merely proposed continuing his present levies of money, on the understanding that they were to cease at the peace. An army was collected and sent, under the Duke of Normandy, to the south. He recovered Angoulême, and laid siege to Aiguillon, an important fortress not far from Agen; but Sir Walter Manny and Lord Pembroke were within the walls, and infused such spirit into the garrison that during four months it defied the Duke of Normandy and his army, said to number 100,000 men.

The obstinacy of the siege as well as the defence induced the English king to march to the succour of his general, for Lord Derby at Bordeaux had no force sufficient to encounter the Duke of Normandy. An expedition was fitted out at Southampton, consisting of 4000 men-at-arms and 10,000 archers, besides the Irish and Welsh. The Prince of Wales and numbers of the English noblesse accompanied the king, and scarcely any strangers, except Geoffrey of Harcourt, one of the Norman barons who had escaped when Philip decapitated so many. It was the intention of the king to land on the Garonne, and march to the relief of Aiguillon; but the wind was unfavourable for crossing the Bay of Biscay, driving back the fleet to the coast of Cornwall, and keeping it there a whole week at anchor. Geoffrey of Harcourt, during the suspense, urged Edward to give up the Gascon expedition, and land in Normandy. That duchy, Harcourt promised, was quite undefended, its only soldiers having marched with the duke to the south, and being before Aiguillon. The people of Normandy were not used to war, and the towns were completely open in consequence of the long peace. Caen itself might be captured without opposition, urged Geoffrey of Harcourt.

The king liked the counsel, and ordered the fleet to sail to Normandy: it reached La Hogue on the 12th July, 1346. All the towns of that angle of France, known as the Cotentin, surrendered, and Edward advanced against Caen. News of his landing had reached Paris, and Philip instantly despatched his constable, who was the Count d'Eu, and the Count of Tancarville, to Caen, with as many men-at-arms as they could collect. As the English approached the town, the counts were for defending the river that ran through it, and abandoning the portion beyond it; but the townsfolk declared they would rather go out and fight. The commanders did not like to check such ardour; but when

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in the field, the citizens saw the enemy approaching with banners flying, and showers of arrows, they fled, and the English entered Caen with them. The river was dry, it being low tide, and the allies thus got complete possession of the town. The Counts of Tancarville, of Eu, and twenty-eight other nobles, surrendered to Thomas of Holland, as the English archers showed no quarter. The plunder and prisoners, numbering sixty knights and 300 citizens, Edward sent on board his fleet.

Amongst other captures made at Caen, was that of a singular document, which will be found in Rymer. It is an agreement made at Vincennes, in March 1338, between the king's eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, and the men of the duchy, who were to aid him in the conquest of England, and for this purpose were to serve him ten weeks without pay, and were to derive other advantages. This document admirably served Edward's purpose in rousing the spirit of the English to support him in the war. His successes and his plunder were, however, alone sufficient to effect this purpose. On leaving Caen, the English marched to Louviers, even then rich in cloths, and offering ample plunder. Evreux they found too strong, and Rouen was defended by King Philip, so that the English could only burn some houses on the south side of the river. They then proceeded up the left bank of the Seine, burning all the towns by the way, Pont de l'Arche, Vernon, and Meulan, till they came to Poissy. Philip followed them on the opposite bank of the river, and flung himself into Paris. All the disposable force of France was still in the south, whilst Edward was at Poissy. His son, the Black Prince, advanced to Saint Germain-en-Laye, first occupied the royal residence, and then burned it. From thence the English scoured the plain of Paris, burning Nanterre, Ruelle, St. Cloud, Boulogne, and even Bourg-la-Reine, on the other side of the capital, and the tower of Montjoye, that was built on the bridge of Neuilly.

"All this devastation, so little in comparison of what followed," says the continuator of Nangis, "might have been seen by whoever ascended the towers of Paris."

King Philip mustered his chivalry, and summoned his good townspeople to rally round him at St. Denis, whilst King Edward held high court in the abbey of Poissy, during mid-August. Philip learned that it was the intention of Edward to proceed from Poissy to Tours, and he hoped to muster a sufficient force in time to intercept him, and proceeded to Antony for this purpose. But Edward decamped from Poissy, and struck northward through the district of Beauvais, ere Philip was aware. Here he surprised the townsfolk of Amiens on their way to join the king, and many of them were slain. The English then marched past Beauvais to Poix, where John Chandos saved the daughters of the count from outrage. The difficulty for Edward was to pass the Somme, for the French army had swelled to proportions far exceeding his own, and its detachments held all the right bank of that river. Some of his officers tried to pass at Picquigny, but in vain. Edward, therefore, came to Abbeville, and from thence followed down the course of the river to the sea, in search of a ford. There existed one at Blanche Taque when the tide was at the lowest. Philip sent 12,000 men under Godemar du Fay, to guard the other side; whilst he himself should follow in the rear of the English. Edward obtained guides to lead him through the ford, which was below St. Valery, and opposite Crotoy.* His army passed without difficulty during the night, and in the morning rushed upon the soldiers of Godemar with such vigour as to put them to a total rout. Philip arrived soon after at the ford, but the tide had flowed, and he was obliged to return with his army to Abbeville. Edward encamped first at Rue, and

* In the year 1858 a roadway has been completed across the mouth of the Somme.

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then proceeded to Crecy, feeling somewhat encouraged by being on his own soil of Ponthieu, which county belonged to him by right of his mother. The English king was well aware that Philip, then at Abbeville, with an army far superior to his own, could not but advance to attack him. The English fleet was not upon the coast, and Flanders was far too remote. His resolve, therefore, was soon taken, to accept the offered battle, whatever the disproportion between his force and that of his foe.

It was on Friday, the 25th of August, 1346, that Edward pitched his camp, and halted his army, at Crecy. It was the fête of St. Louis, and Philip, out of respect for that monarch's memory, stopped at Abbeville, resolving on the following day to march to the English and attack them. Both kings began the morning of Saturday in the same manner. They heard mass: Edward on the field of Crecy, Philip in the abbey of St. Pierre, at Abbeville. The English king had ordered a park or enclosure to be formed behind the spot where he intended to fight. This he surrounded with his waggons, and placed not only his baggage within it, but the horses of his army. His knights and nobles were thus to fight on foot, there being but 4000 of them to resist 12,000 French men-at-arms. Villani makes the English far superior in the number of their archers, those of Philip being but Genoese, whom he had brought from the fleet under Doria and Grimaldi. But the French *communes* of Picardy swelled the number of the French infantry; and on this occasion it would appear as if they consisted of the armed citizens themselves, and not bands of mercenaries raised by their contributions. At all events the French, far outnumbering their antagonists, were a disorderly and undisciplined host; whilst the English were professional soldiers and old campaigners, obedient to their chiefs and their sovereign.

Edward drew up his army in three lines, or battles.

The young Prince of Wales (he was not more than thirteen) nominally commanding the first, but under the guardianship of the Earl of Warwick and Geoffrey of Harcourt. The second line was commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel. The third kept round the king, who took post near a windmill on a height. Froissart gives but 800 men-at-arms and 2000 archers, or less, to each division. The king, on a small palfrey, a white baton in his hand, accompanied by his two marshals, went from rank to rank, and encouraged his men.

Four knights whom the King of France had sent to reconnoitre the English, returned with an account of how they were drawn up. They advised Philip not to attack that day, after a fatiguing march of four leagues. The king thought the advice good, and was desirous of conforming to it: he therefore gave orders that those in front should halt, and wait till the others came up. But as those in the rear advanced, the vanguard, not liking to be outstripped, moved on again, and the whole of the French army in confusion thus came in presence of the English. The latter were not prepared to take advantage of the confusion, the knights being dismounted and the king determined on fighting a defensive battle. When the King of France saw the English, his blood stirred, says Froissart, his purposes of deferring the battle were forgotten, and he ordered the Genoese to advance. These archers now pleaded fatigue, and declared that, after the march, they were not prepared for great exploits. A shower of rain, which fell at the same time, damped at once their courage and the strings of their cross-bows. They came forward, however, with three shouts, firing their *arbaletes*. It was only at the third shout that the English replied by a volley of arrows, which fell thicker, quicker, and more fatal than those of the Genoese, the archers firing three times for one of the Italian cross-bowmen. The English at the same time made use of *bombards*, sending

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forth iron shot, according to Villani, "which seemed like God's thunder to shake the earth." The Chronicle of St. Denis attributed to the fire of these pieces of artillery (the earliest used in battle) the discomfiture of the Genoese. Villani also says, that they were pressed upon by the horse of the Duc d'Alençon. The king, seeing their hesitation, called out to his men "to kill the *ribalds*." The inconsiderate order was obeyed, and the French were thus employed in slaughtering their own crossbowmen whilst the English arrows rained upon them in their confusion. The knights in their heavy armour, instead of being able to charge in order upon the English line, were entangled and mixed up with the Genoese archers, whilst the Irish and Welsh soldiers from the English ranks crept in amongst them, and slew the French knights with their knives. A body of them succeeded, nevertheless, in getting free of the press, and in charging through the English archers upon the men-at-arms round the Prince of Wales. It was then that those in guard of the Prince sent to his sire for aid. But Edward, who saw the fight and its probable results, first asked, was his son slain, or wounded, or fallen? Being told that the Black Prince was in none of these conditions, but fighting valiantly, Edward replied: "Then don't send to me for aid, for I am determined that the boy shall this day win his spurs; and the honour of this battle shall be his, as well as of those who are around him." The Counts of Alençon and Flanders were amongst those who were able to reach the Prince of Wales' line, and Philip was anxious to join them; but the English archers had re-closed their ranks, and cut off the retreat of the knights who had ventured so far. The Counts of Alençon and Flanders were slain. Louis de Blois, the king's nephew, and the Duke of Lorraine, with the Counts of St. Pol, Auxerre, and Harcourt, perished. The blind King of Bohemia charged between two knights, to whom he

was tied with thongs, and perished with them. His crest and plumes were found on the field, and brought to the Prince of Wales, and ever after worn by him. According to Villani, some of the English mounted their horses towards the close of the battle, and, charging the French, completed their rout and confusion. Jean of Hainault stood by the French king, who had but few nobles round him, and about sixty followers. He furnished him with a fresh horse when the one the monarch rode was shot with an arrow, and at last forced him to retreat, telling Philip, "There was no use in flinging himself away; that what was lost one day might be recovered another." The king rode first to the castle of La Broye. When asked who knocked? he replied, "The hard fortune of France." Philip took but a cup of refreshment, and then rode all night till he reached Amiens.

On the following day, Sunday, a thick fog covered the country. Edward sent out 400 lancers and a number of archers to learn what had become of the French. This strong reconnoitring party fell in with the militia of Rouen and Beauvais, who were marching in haste to join the army of Philip. The English instantly attacked them, slaughtering 7000; but for the fog not one would have escaped. The Archbishop of Rouen and the Grand Prior of the Hospitallers were also encountered and killed. Froissart says, that more persons perished on the Sunday than on the day of battle. The heralds and clerks that Edward sent to number the dead made up a list of 11 princes, 80 knights bearing banners, 1200 knights without that distinction, and 30,000 men. The bodies of the nobles were brought by Edward's order to Montreuil. The body of the King of Bohemia was sent to his son.

Although the moral effects of the day of Crecy must have been immense, Edward was not in a position to follow up the natural results of so great a victory. His army was too small to admit of his returning on his

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steps, marching to Paris, or besieging a great city. It was not with 4000 knights that he could hope to conquer France. He therefore determined to continue his retreat, placing himself in communication with the sea, and thus provide for the security of his prisoners and his booty. As his victory gave him a lesser opinion of the French, he resolved to complete their subjugation at a future opportunity, and for this purpose he wished to have a French port in the vicinity of his own shores, instead of being obliged to sail to Brittany or the Gironde. He therefore marched by Boulogne to Calais, and sat down before the latter place.

The defeat of Crecy is attributed by several modern French writers to the indiscipline and incapacity of the nobles and the inherent defects of feudalism. His want of command over his host was, however, in part owing to the unskilfulness and headlong chivalry of Philip of Valois, in part to the circumstance of the French army having been hastily collected in a few days. Its very numbers proved an obstruction and an embarrassment. Feudalism, indeed, was on the decline: when it was in its vigour, its chiefs brought their retainers, that is, the peasant population of the country, into the field, maintaining discipline amongst them, restraining and encouraging them, and, in fact, acting the part of leaders and officers; but now the knight came alone in his panoply, or with one or two attendants. The infantry, whether archers or pikemen, formed corps completely apart from the nobles, and receiving the king's pay. At a later period the nobles came to act as officers to these corps of infantry, constituting a regular army; but this change had not yet been accomplished. Feudalism was in a transitional, a perishing, and an unnatural state; and the nobles, reduced to act as soldiers of a corps, without support and without discipline, displayed, indeed, their wonted courage; but for military skill there was neither room nor opportunity.

This was the fault not of feudalism, but of the court legislation, which might have been improvement and progress in one respect, but was decadence and disorganisation in a military point of view. Had feudalism still survived, Edward could not have marched across the country, and pillaged it from one end to the other. Fortunate, indeed, was it for France that its sole enemy was England, with its scant population; had it been a horde of Moguls or Turks, they would have swept over the country without resistance, and totally subdued it. There were elements of military strength both in the towns and in the peasantry. Had the town militia been kept up, they would have formed an infantry as formidable as that of Flanders; but, as has been before described, the kings of France dispensed with the town levies, and took money instead, with which the refuse of the population was enlisted. And although in the engagement with the English at Crecy the towns themselves did send armed contingents, it was only to perish, so unused were they to arms, to discipline, to precaution, or command. Missiles at that time were becoming of the first importance in war. The records of Rymer show what pains the English king took to raise and exercise his bowmen from the hardiest districts, and to supply them with the best weapons. Instead of taking any such care, the King of France procured his cross-bowmen from the Genoese fleet. In England feudalism had also lost much of its power, and its rigour had been mitigated by laws which secured to all classes their rights; but, in order to enforce those laws, it had not been found necessary to destroy the local powers of the proprietor of the soil and to supersede him by royal bailiffs sent down from a court of legists. The gentry preserved their influence, the peasantry their respect; and the links remained between noble and peasant, knight and archer, which made Edward's little army at Crecy fight as one man, whilst that of Philip was a

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congregation of disjointed elements, like those of the country and the kingdom itself, ignorant or jealous of each other.

The town of Calais, before which Edward encamped with the determination to reduce it, was not one of those fortresses close to whose walls it was easy to bring the battering engines of the time. It was easily surrounded with water, and defied the military science of those days. Edward therefore prepared to starve out the garrison, and he began by building for himself and his army a town, still called Villeneuve, between Calais and the camp round it. He even established markets there, well supplied from England and from Flanders. Jean de Vienne, a Burgundian knight, commanded in the town for the King of France, and seeing Edward's purpose, he first sent out seventeen hundred people, in order to make his provisions last. Edward allowed them to pass, after keeping them some time in sufferance. The siege of Aiguillon had been raised in the south by the Duke of Normandy, who returned to Paris; and the Earl of Derby, seizing the opportunity to take the field, reduced St. Jean d'Angely and Poitiers. He might have held this town as long as he liked, says Froissart, for there was no one to resist, and the whole country, to the Loire, trembled; but the English chief abandoned it, and retired to Bordeaux, to take ship for Calais.

Edward spent the entire winter in the siege, and in endeavouring to bring the Flemings to lend their zealous co-operation. On the death, at Crecy, of the count, who had been so obnoxious and tyrannical, and after the previous murder of Arteveld, the Flemings were induced to receive Count Louis, a youth of sixteen. Being so young, he was in the hands of the burgomasters and the Flemish magistrates. There ensued intrigues for marrying the youth, the Duke of Brabant desiring to make his daughter Countess of Flanders,

and Edward putting forward the same proposal for his daughter Isabella. The towns of Flanders favoured the English match. Count Louis dared not openly object: he therefore affected acquiescence, and even met the English king and queen, and arranged all the preliminaries of the marriage; then taking advantage of a hawking excursion, the young count put spurs to his horse and escaped to Paris.

Philip had spent the winter in the levy of money from all classes, the clergy included, so much so, that even the court chronicle breaks into lamentations, and almost anathematizes the greed of officials, whilst expatiating upon the distress of the people. There were also symptoms of disaffection. Paris itself had shown discontent when the English approached so near, and when it was proposed to destroy the suburbs in order to the defence of the city. There was every reason indeed for extraordinary efforts and unusual levies, and the three orders of the north assembled in Paris granted Philip money and *aide* at this time. The object was to relieve Calais, which Edward kept closely blockaded, not only by the English fleet outside, but by means of a large wooden castle, mounting *pringalles* and *bombardes*, which commanded the harbour, and prevented any vessel from entering.

During the fine months of spring, Philip was disturbed from the relief of Calais by the Flemings, who marched in great force as far as Aire and St. Omers, and obliged him to repair with haste to Arras. As they retreated, the French king brought his army towards Calais. The inhabitants were gladdened to observe, by moonlight, the relieving army occupy a hill south of the town, and bordering on the sea. Robert of Avesbury mentions that Philip desired to assault the besiegers of Calais along the sea, both from north and south, but that the Flemings held their camp on the

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north. He offered them most advantageous conditions, such as the restitution of French Flanders, if they would remain neutral. These offers, it is very probable, were what induced the Flemings to withdraw from the investment of Aire; this set Philip at liberty to approach Calais with the aim of relieving it. But it does not appear that they at all aided in the siege of that town more than by the transport of provisions from Ypres and Bruges to Edward's army. To attack Calais from the north, however, would have been dangerous in case of repulse, as the return towards Arras would have been cut off by both English and Flemings. There remained, therefore, but to force a way either along the coast south of the town, or over a bridge which crossed the marshes. This was held by the Earl of Derby, one of Edward's bravest captains, whilst the road along the sea was commanded by the English vessels, well provided with bombards and other engines for throwing missiles. The militia of Tournay undertook to assault and capture a strong tower which the English had erected on the downs. In this they succeeded, though with considerable loss. But when the town was reconnoitred by the marshals, they reported that it was impossible to advance farther, or reach the English, without a great loss of men.

Philip, in disappointment, then despatched four gentlemen to challenge the King of England, and to represent that the King of France had come for the purpose of combating, but that he could not get near enough for that purpose; he begged the King of England, therefore, to facilitate the encounter of the armies. Edward desired them to reply for him to Philip, "that he had been there a year, and had expended large sums in order to take Calais; that it was not his fault if Philip had not come sooner; that now he was on the point of taking the town, he would not stir till he had done so, nor abandon the advantage of his position. The King of

France might find out a way for the attack as he could."

Two Papal legates then intervened between the parties, and sought to bring about a peace, which was manifestly impossible, as long as the fall of Calais remained undecided. During the three days that the negotiations lasted, the English strengthened their position, and deepened the ditches before them. Whereupon Philip dispersed his town militia, and withdrew with his knights to Amiens. The people of Calais, seeing the retreat of the King of France, compelled the governor to demand a parley. Sir Walter de Manny came to them, and they asked to surrender on condition of the garrison being allowed to withdraw. Manny replied that the king would not grant such terms; they must surrender unconditionally. Jean de Vienne, the governor, replied, that for all the ills they had suffered, they were prepared to endure still more, rather than that the smallest or the humblest should be sacrificed. Manny then went to the king, who was fixed in his resolve to grant no terms. This brave officer remonstrated against such severity as certain to occasion reprisals. "Walter," said the king at last, "go and tell the commander of Calais, that the only favour he shall have is, let six of the most eminent citizens come to me with cords round their necks, their feet bare, and the keys of the city in their hands; with them I will deal as I please, and will spare the rest."

Jean de Vienne, the governor of Calais, on receiving this message, caused the bells to be rung, and the citizens to assemble in the square. He then informed them of Edward's proposal, which occasioned many tears and lamentations. At last a noble citizen, Eustace de St. Pierre, came forward and said, "Nobles and great, it would be a terrible thing to let the people perish by famine, or by other means. I have great hope of protection from Our Lady, were I to die for my towns-

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men. So I offer myself to be the first to go." "I will bear him company," exclaimed John of Aire. "And I," cried James of Wissant, one of the wealthiest of the town. His brother, Peter Wissant, came next, and then a fifth, and then a sixth.

Jean de Vienne, mounted on horseback, for he could not walk, led forth the six citizens, and begged of Walter de Manny to save them, which Manny promised to do his best to accomplish. When they were brought before the English king, there were none present, knights, counts, or barons, that did not weep; but the king regarded them angrily, and said "they must die." All present besought the monarch to have mercy, especially Sir Walter Manny, who said, "Sire, you have the reputation of nobleness; do not lessen it, nor let men find any villany in you. For such would men deem your cruelty to be, were you to cause these honest townsfolk to be slain." The king for answer* made a sign that the executioner should advance. Then the queen came to throw herself at the king's feet, being at the time *moult enceinte*, and said, "Gentle sire, since I passed the sea I have made of you no request. Grant me this, in the name of the Son of Mary, and for love of me,—pardon for these men." The king regarded her, was a moment silent, and then said, "I wish, lady, you were elsewhere; but as it is, I cannot refuse you. Do with them according to your pleasure." The queen thereupon brought the six citizens of Calais to her chamber, took the ropes from their necks, fed them, presented them with six nobles each, and dismissed them in safety.

Thus did Calais fall into the hands of England a year after the battle of Crecy. Edward, according to Walsingham, spent a month in the town, ordering and for-

* The words of Froissart are: *Adonc guigna le roy*, which might certainly indicate that he winked in such a way as to imply that he was not serious in his determination to have them slain.

tifying it. He sent all the knights captive to England, and expelled a certain number of the other French townsmen, replacing them by English. He induced thirty-six rich citizens of London, with their families, to settle there, with three hundred of lesser condition, bestowing upon them several privileges and advantages. He fixed at Calais the staple of tin, lead, and woollen cloth, and prohibited all persons from exporting or shipping these commodities to England, unless they took oath to unship them at Calais. Eustace of St. Pierre was amongst the French citizens who remained and recovered their property, on transferring their allegiance to the English king. His heirs afterwards forfeited the property by refusing this allegiance.

The Papal legates seized this opportunity of renewing their efforts to bring about an accommodation between the monarchs. The capture of Calais, indeed, rendered terms of peace more difficult to arrange; but that event, with the campaign which preceded it, rendered a peace desirable on both sides. Edward consented, although Rymer contains many proofs of his intention to sail again to the continent and renew the war. The truce was at first concluded for two months, but was extended from time to time, the monarchs being occupied with other cares. It was a cessation but from great expeditions and large armies, for partisans on both sides did not relax in their schemes to surprise and their efforts to hurt. Although Scotland was included in the truce, Douglas would not keep the peace; neither would French or English in Gascony. The *brigands*, as foot soldiers were called, associated in bands of thirty or forty, to pillage towns, surprise castles, and then sell them for large sums. King Philip did not disdain thus to purchase the castle of Combourne from the brigand, Bacon, for 24,000 livres. This brigand, says Froissart, "was as well armed and mounted as any

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The truce was not even observed between the now hostile towns of Calais and St. Omers. Geoffrey of Charny, who commanded for Philip in the latter place, hearing that Edward had entrusted the command in Calais to an Italian, Aimery di Pavia, made offers of many thousand florins, if he would betray the town. Pavia pretended to consent, but warned Edward, who came with his son, the Black Prince, and a body of archers and men-at-arms. Pavia, by the king's order, allowed a division of the French to pass the bridge and enter the fortifications, where they were instantly surrounded and taken prisoners. And then Edward and his son attacked the French under Charny, routing, slaying, and capturing the greater number. The king himself in the fray had a personal encounter with Eustace de Ribeaumont, whom he compelled to surrender, and to whom he afterwards presented a chaplet adorned with pearls, as a token of friendship and admiration.

In Brittany the lieutenants of King Philip were not more successful than at Calais. Charles of Blois himself had set the truce at nought by an attack upon the castle of Roche Darien. Whilst thus engaged, he was come upon unawares by the forces of the De Montfort party, his army routed, himself severely wounded, and taken prisoner. From Brittany he was sent to England.

A more general renewal of the war was rendered impossible by the eruption of the plague, which in the summer of 1348 carried off large numbers, first in the south of France, from whence it extended to Paris and the towns of the north. Tumours under the arm and in the groin were the peculiarities of the disease, which almost always proved fatal. Out of twenty persons in a village, says a chronicler, not two remained. The

towns of the south were especially depopulated, such as Narbonne, Montpelier, and Avignon. The Laura of Petrarch was amongst the victims. According to Boccacio, 100,000 persons perished at Florence. Eight hundred died each day in Paris; where the loss could thus not have been less. The continuator of Nangis bears testimony to the noble courage of the sisters of the Hospital of Paris, who never flagged in their exertions, though their numbers were several times renewed during the pestilence. Amongst the consequences of the epidemic are mentioned a great scarcity of provisions and a complete suspense of education from the lack of teachers. CHAP. X.

Whilst France was thus ravaged by pestilence and humiliated by defeat, Philip succeeded in annexing to the monarchy the important province of Dauphiné, which lay between its possessions of Burgundy and Provence, and gave France the entire region westward of the Alps. The two contiguous principalities and dynasties of Savoy and of Dauphiné had started up and grown together in continued rivalry. Although the Savoy princes were defeated in one great battle, they were still more than a match for the dauphins, as the princes who kept their court at Vienne were called from the arms they had assumed. The dauphin had recourse to the aid of the King of France; and, by degrees, the protection which these afforded grew into suzerainty. Humbert, the last dauphin, was a strange and capricious character; he had the misfortune to have let fall from a window of his castle his only son, the child being dashed to pieces as he fell. This misfortune disturbed the reason of the prince, who determined to proceed to the Holy Land, and sell or mortgage his possessions in order to raise funds for the purpose. He began by selling lands, which he possessed in Normandy, to John, duke of this province. At last the dauphin consented to sell the reversion of the principality. He

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agreed to appoint the second son of Philip of Valois, Philip of Orleans, as his future heir, in the event of his having no children.

This treaty, so advantageous to France, was concluded in 1343, and Humbert took his departure for Palestine. None ever expected to see the return of so witless a prince. The dauphin, however, did return, not only to resume the government of his paternal dominion, but to regret the reckless manner in which he had alienated the independence of Dauphiné. He began to seek to extricate himself from his engagements. Edward the Third tried to induce the Emperor of Germany to confer upon Humbert the title of King; but, surrounded by the power and the emissaries of France, the dauphin was not able to shake off his dependency. He was finally induced to transfer his adoption to Charles, son of John, Duke of Normandy, heir to the French throne. This was the future Charles the Fifth. Having accomplished this act, Humbert withdrew to a convent, whilst young Charles assumed the title of Dauphin, and the possession of that rich province.

The plague of this year had been peculiarly fatal to princesses. Edward lost a daughter, whom he was sending to be betrothed to a prince of Castille. The Queen of France, Jeanne of Burgundy, the Duchess of Normandy, wife of Prince John, and daughter of the King of Bohemia, the Queen of Navarre, daughter of Louis Hutin, perished under its influence. But no sooner had the pestilence disappeared, than marriage and its accompanying festivities became the order of the day. "The world," says the Chronicler, "was renewed, but, unfortunately, not bettered; the enemies of France and of the Church no fewer, or less powerful."

King Philip espoused a young wife, daughter of the Queen of Navarre, just deceased. This princess, Blanche by name, had been destined to the Duke of Normandy; but the king, his father, found her beautiful, and married

her himself. The Duke of Normandy married a Duchess of Burgundy, and the Dauphin, Charles, espoused a daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. Thus were celebrated the marriages of three generations of princes.

Philip of Valois did not long survive his marriage with Blanche. He took ill, and expired at Nogent in August, 1350. The continuator of Nangis relates, that he called his sons, the Duke of Normandy, and Philip of Orleans, afterwards of Valois, to his bedside, and pointed out to them the validity of his right to the crown, and the necessity of defending it strenuously, and without any concession, against Edward of England, with whom the truce was about to expire.

Philip of Valois was the first prince of truly chivalrous spirit that ascended the throne of France. Unfortunately for him, he succeeded at a period when chivalry was insufficient either to illustrate the warrior or achieve great results in war. Unfortunately, too, he derived from his predecessors those unscrupulous habits of wreaking vengeance and spilling blood, which they were taught to consider their sovereign right. As if royal power and descent cancelled every crime, and consecrated even the basest treachery and felony. French kings are lauded by their countrymen for having considered themselves above feudalism. Feudalism, however, had its laws of honour and its sense of right; with these, unfortunately, French kings too soon and too completely dispensed.

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JOHN, TO THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY.

1350—1360.

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THE monarchy of France achieved its two great objects in a surprisingly short space of time. These were the territorial expansion of the kingdom over the countries bounded by the ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenees; and the establishment of a central authority and absolute sovereignty over all. These aims, conceived in the imagination of Suger, at the beginning of the twelfth century, became developed into a policy in the hands of Philip Augustus, St. Louis, and Philip the Fair. At the commencement of the fourteenth century Philip of Valois ruled over a kingdom of France with frontiers very nearly identical with those of the realm to which Louis the Fourteenth succeeded. Nor was the authority of the great monarch of the seventeenth century over his subjects more complete or more uncontrolled, than that of Philip of Valois, or Philip the Fair.

But the goal thus reached so quickly had also been reached prematurely. What was obtained could not be kept, and that which had been momentarily and hastily accomplished, could not be consolidated. The absolute authority which Philip Augustus claimed, and which St. Louis sought to organise, was based altogether on the Byzantine principle, that either took no account of

a landed and hereditary aristocracy, with judicial and political rights connected with the soil, or which, in recognising these rights temporarily, looked to nothing short of their abolition. In order to effect this, it would have been necessary to have planned and perfected far more than judicial reforms. The military organisation, which it was proposed to abolish, it would have been necessary to replace, whilst the basis of this, as well as of all other departments of administration — the fiscal system — should have been so ordered as to be able to meet the pressure of war as well as the exigences of peace. The attempts to crush the aristocracy, set aside its influence, and nullify its power, whilst, at the same time, the crown was obliged to have recourse to it for the military defence of the State, was but achieving half a purpose, and ensuring the abrogation of what had been done by that which had been left undone.

It has always been found far more easy to establish despotism than to endow it with institutions or with a machinery that will make it permanently work. Despotism has indeed never done this. Its most perfect, we may say its only system, that of Imperial Rome, lived and flourished by the laws, the institutions, and the organisation which it inherited from the republic, and which the free and wise spirit of that republic exerted during many centuries, could alone have created. But the Roman or the Byzantine system only suited the ancient or civic society for which it was formed, ignoring the rustic world, and not having any conception of a local lord of the soil, with tenants and peasants looking up to and supporting him. This characteristic element of modern Europe, the same whether feudal in the middle ages, or gentle in our time, is quite incompatible with the Byzantine plan of a merely functionary noblesse and a sacrosanct autocrat. The history of France consists of a series of attempts to graft the one

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upon the other, all most lamentably unsuccessful, and of which perhaps the last experiment is now making, whilst we write, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The policy of establishing the absolute power of the monarch on the ruins or subjection of the feudal aristocracy ceased with Philip the Fair. In the reigns of his sons a reaction took place. The nobles reasserted their privileges: they insisted on enjoying once more their judicial power, their *high* and *low* justice, their rights of private war and trial by battle. Philip of Valois, considered the head of the aristocratic party and class, undertook to reconcile it with the crown, maintaining, at the same time, the crown's supremacy and uncontrolled authority,—no easy task. For this purpose, or rather from his character and nature, he surrounded his court and person with the noblesse, lived in a succession of fêtes, tournaments, ceremonies, and processions. The legists he reduced to the rank of subalterns; and if he at times consulted the good towns or their deputies, it was speedily to forget the promises made to them. In war he depended chiefly on his mailed knights, unequal as these had proved themselves to the defence of the kingdom. Philip seemed to think the safety of his crown depended on the fidelity of his noblesse; and he certainly had reason to know how fatal to him proved the defection of such nobles as Robert d'Artois and Geoffrey of Harcourt.

Philip and his son and successor, John, by no means pursued the policy best calculated to secure the attachment of their numerous nobles. Feeling it necessary to give back to them a considerable portion of their old privileges and independence, it would have been honest and expedient to have controlled them at the same time by feudal jurisdiction. No law punished treason more severely than the feudal. But the feudal law required, at the same time, a fair and open trial,—that by one's

peers. Instead of adopting any such fair course, Philip of Valois, and indeed his father, Charles, set the example of proceeding against enemies without even the forms of law. Such trials and judgments as those of the Templars were, indeed, but mockeries of justice; and it is not to be wondered at, that sovereigns thought it a small stretch of power to substitute summary executions without form of trial, for a mock trial accompanied by torture and followed by a similar execution. Philip of Valois seized the Breton and Norman nobles, whom he suspected of infidelity to him, and ordered their assassination. If he purposed thus to rule the aristocracy by terror, he ought not to have restored to them their privileges, their right of war, and their old sense of independence. For with these, whenever they were wronged, they had no justice to expect from the king and his courts, and were driven, for very security, to fly or rally to the national foe. In the century which ensues, the noblesse of France were often as ready to betray their sovereign, or desert his cause, as to stand up in his and the national defence. It was only when English victory had defeated and disgraced the French nobles, and when the monarchy found its defenders amongst the lesser gentry and the townsfolk, that these presented a firm front to the foe, and proved as staunch in their loyalty as indomitable in their courage.

Philip of Valois and his son, in making the defence of the country and fidelity to its interests dependent on personal attachment to themselves, found a formidable rival in Edward the Third. The latter was a prince of far greater abilities and far higher renown. He was as fond of the society of his nobles and their pastimes as Philip. His tournaments were even more splendid, and his habits more chivalrous, than the French kings. He had founded the order of the Garter, a kind of chivalrous fraternity, in common with his gentry

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as well as his nobles; and the banquets of the knights took place at a round table, that form which peculiarly marks the equality of the guests.* When Edward claimed the crown of France, and by no mean right, holding Guienne and the Angoumois, maintaining Brittany in its independence, entrenched at Calais, and in alliance with the Flemings, many a French noble might hesitate, whether the Plantagenet was not preferable to the Valois.

This was the great anxiety of Philip at his death, and it was the first care of John, when he ascended the throne. John felt that the councillors and lieutenants, on whom he could most surely rely, were his relatives, and for all of these, Froissart says, he entertained the utmost affection. His first act as king, after his coronation, was to set at liberty the two sons of Robert of Artois, who had been fifteen years in captivity. Pierre, duke of Bourbon, and James, his brother, were also great friends and favourites of John. Several of the French nobles had been made prisoners during the war, either at the capture of Caen, the battle of Crecy, or in the Breton campaigns. These nobles, though captive, were always invited to Edward's festivities, and were not the less welcomed by the knights and the ladies who thronged the English court. Charles of Blois was one of these, and so was the constable, the Count of Eu and of Guisnes, "so fresh and handsome a cavalier," that he was always welcome wherever he went. John was jealous of this great favour enjoyed by the Count of Eu, of the family of Brienne; he did not like to continue to trust him in the office of constable. His desire, too was to confer this important office upon one of his

* John instituted the order of the Star in imitation of that of the Garter, but was unable to maintain even its respectability. The members of John's order were all princes and grandees; those of Edward's order of the Garter were twelve of them plain knights. Froissart gives the lists of both.

favourites, Charles of Spain, an energetic military commander, and one who was a stranger to the intrigues of the French noblesse. To deprive the Count d'Eu of his constable's office, without motive alleged, would have made him an enemy, and afforded a cause of offence to his noblesse. The constable had come to Paris from England, to collect the price of his ransom. The king charged him with having written some letters, perhaps disrespectful of his majesty, for the count was smart of speech and petulant. But John would never pardon these letters, nor yet make known the reason of his grudge to the constable. He could not sleep, he declared, whilst the latter lived. And, accordingly, the Duke of Bourbon and some other of the courtiers were deputed to seize the Count of Eu, in his hotel, and have him instantly decapitated. The office of constable was immediately conferred upon Charles of Spain, and the estates and title of Count d'Eu upon one of the sons of Robert d'Artois. This oriental mode of decapitation and confiscation greatly displeased the barons of France, says Froissart, as well as the nobles and princes of the frontier.

A coronation at Rheims was not sufficient to manifest to all his subjects the accession of a King of France. It was necessary to visit the south, to assemble its several estates, to receive the homage of the noblesse, and the recognition of the cities. The war with England occupied apart the different regions of north and south. It was necessary to make head from the Loire against English armies from Guienne, from the Seine to repel invasion from Normandy or from Calais. In his progress to the south, John made a grant of franchises to several towns, and regulated the mode of their war services against the enemy. The citizen militia was bound to follow the king to battle or campaign; and within a day's journey of their homes and walls, they were to perform this service gratuitously. If led

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further, they were to receive a daily pay. The States of Languedoc begged to be exempt from the vexatious tax upon sales and purchases, and voted a sum instead. As the king returned by the west, he granted each province the immunities or the privileges it required. He then held in 1351, at Paris, an assembly of the states of the north, from which he demanded and obtained the levy of the usual war subsidies and aids, continuing, at the same time, that periodical manipulation of the coin, which, as a chronicler observes, rendered all commerce impossible.*

The war with the English had, in the meantime, recommenced. John, on his return from the south, found himself near the enemy's country, whilst he had around him numbers of the French and Poitevin noblesse. In his newness, says Froissart, desirous to inaugurate his accession with a conquest, he laid siege to St. Jean d'Angely. Edward, on hearing it, sent succours under Beauchamp, Audley, and Chandos. They advanced from Bordeaux, and finding the enemy too strongly posted on the Charente, hesitated to attack, when the French, fearing the English would escape them, crossed the river, and engaged in action. It was fought vigorously on both sides, but in the end the English carried off numbers of French knights prisoners. They thus won rich ransoms, although they could not prevent St. Jean d'Angely from surrendering to John. In the midst of these conflicts, which were not confined to the south, but were repeated in

* At the same time John undertook to regulate the rate of wages and the prices of commodities, so much disturbed by his own derangement of the coin, as well as by the effects of the famine and the pestilence. These commercial difficulties and disturbances were not confined to France. Edington, Edward's treasurer, who, says Walsingham, "consulted more the convenience of the king than that of the community," issued a new coinage, of much less value than the sterling. This raised the price of provisions; and the English artisans were cunning enough to demand higher wages in consequence, which it required an act of parliament to regulate and resist.

Brittany and Artois, Henry of Lancaster visited Paris for the purpose of engaging in single combat with Otho of Brunswick. He was exceedingly well and courteously received by King John, and still more so by the King of Navarre, and was the more honoured when Otho of Brunswick declined the single combat which he had provoked. Soon after, the Duke of Lancaster proceeded to Avignon, to endeavour to negotiate peace under the arbitrage of the Pope, the Duke of Bourbon appearing there on the part of John. The French, according to Knighton, demanded that Edward should cease to quarter the arms of France, and that he should do homage for Gascony. But Henry of Lancaster replied, that his sovereign would never do homage to one of lesser rights and lineage than himself; and so the negotiations ended. They are a proof of Edward's determination never to make peace on the condition of again becoming the liege, or even the nominal vassal, of the French king.

The impossibility of peace or agreement with England was not the only untoward consequence of these high pretensions to supremacy which had become part of the heritage of French monarchs. These had gradually humbled and flung far beneath their feet the old noblesse of the country, whom they decapitated at pleasure, without ever deigning to assign a motive or specify a crime. The greater aristocracy, and their princely families and possessions, had been all absorbed in the Crown or the royal family. But these princes of the blood claimed, and obtained, a portion of that sacrosanctity, which was considered as a royal attribute. It was thought that their affinity to the throne would always render them attached to it. The princes of the blood were, however, above feelings of either patriotism or loyalty. They partook of the exceptional nature of the monarch living, and deemed their own rights and their dignity paramount to all others. There was this excuse

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for their selfishness and violence, that, if wronged, especially if wronged by the sovereign, they had no legal mode of redress: there was no institution, there was no law. The Court of Peers was a mockery, as was every kind and form of justice. The princes of France were thus, however elevated in dignity and power, still reduced, in one sense, to a state of nature: they had no defence or redress but that of the savage,—the use of cunning and the recourse to violence. Murder and treachery became thus their almost inevitable attributes.

The policy of the French monarchs had, moreover, not been applied to princes of the blood. They were left possessed of towns and provinces, in which they appointed their own seneschals or governors; so that the unity of administration, and compactness of the kingdom, boasted to be the results of the destruction of feudalism, were, on the contrary, lost as soon as won, by the privileges accorded to these royal princes. Some consider these high immunities attached to royal birth as a resuscitation of feudalism. There was, however, nothing feudal in their nature. Feudal institutions and laws would have furnished a remedy for the abuses they introduced, a check upon their violence or ambition, had the principle been observed in reality, of every man being tried by, and amenable to his peers; or had not the great application of this principle in the Court of Peers itself, been corrupted and nullified by the substitution of the arbitrary rule of the king, there would have been a tribunal before which even princes might have claimed redress, and might, at the same time, have learned obedience. But the growth of absolutism destroyed every salutary element of feudalism, and substituted nothing for it but caprice, ferocity, and craft. As to the principles of equity and equality, and civic right, vaunted to have been introduced with the Roman law, where were they? Introduced before their time, they were destructive of those various checks and con-

trols by which feudalism limited sovereign authority, while they established nothing in return save naked absolutism.

The case of Robert d'Artois was the first example of one of the royal race driven into rebellion and resistance to the Crown. But Robert, whatever his rights, was a lack-land prince, without followers or power. A member of his family, whom John offended, became an enemy far more dangerous from his talents, his character, and his resources. The daughter of Louis Hutin, who inherited Navarre, had married the Count of Evreux. From this marriage sprung three sons, the eldest of whom, Charles, was at present King of Navarre and Count of Evreux, the hereditary rights of the family to the county of Champagne having been exchanged for certain towns and lordships in Normandy, such as those of Mantes and Meulan. These places were given, because it was supposed that the authority of the King of France could always overrule that of ever so great a feudatory in towns within a day's journey of Paris. But since the days of Philip the Long, the princely aristocracy had greatly increased their power. The war with England having broken out, and proved unfortunate, the King of France had no regular troops or officers wherewith to garrison and defend so many towns. It was necessary to entrust them to those who could keep them without demanding pay. And thus Charles of Navarre had not only his hereditary property of Evreux, as well as Meulan and Mantes upon the Seine, but he had also the custody of Caen, and was, in many respects, an independent potentate.

The check upon these princes of the royal lineage was, that they resided at the Court, under the eye of the king; where, no doubt, their words and their conduct were the objects of constant vigilance. But Charles was no rash brawler; he was as skilled in concealing resentments as prone to harbour and indulge them. A

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Court, too, if it afforded the monarch facilities for observing his noblesse, offered, at the same time, frequent causes of jealousy and discontent. Charles of Spain, lately promoted to the dignity of Constable, and married to a daughter of Charles of Blois, was the especial favourite of King John, who enriched and endowed him, amongst other possessions, with several castles and domains belonging of right to the King of Navarre. The latter had so many possessions that it was thought he might spare some; and as King John gave him his daughter in marriage, with nominally a rich dowry in towns and money, his fidelity was considered to be secured. Eventually, however, the dowry was not paid, and the towns assigned to him were not given up. His mother had possessed Angoulême, which Philip of Valois had induced her, a little before her death, to abandon or exchange. The towns, so unwarrantably filched from the King of Navarre, were given to Charles of Spain. These various causes of rivalry between the two princely courtiers broke out into open enmity, which John had not the ascendancy or the address to appease. They quarrelled when they met, and had personal altercations. One called the other traitor, who replied that he lied in his throat.

The fate of the unfortunate Count d'Eu, and the manner of his sacrifice to Charles of Spain, who had got his spoils, was in every one's mind. The constable was about to visit the town of Aigle in Normandy, which had become his by right of his wife. The King of Navarre, who was at Evreux, sent some of his followers to seize his rival; or, according to other accounts, went himself for that purpose. Charles of Spain was sleeping in a village near, the town and castle of Aigle not being yet perhaps formally surrendered to him. Here he was surprised and murdered, whether by the King of Navarre or by his agents is of little importance, since that monarch afterwards assumed

all the responsibility of the deed. John was wroth at the death of his favourite, and despatched all the force he could muster to seize Evreux and the other possessions of the King of Navarre in Normandy. He at the same time urged the Counts of Foix and Comminge to invade Navarre. Charles of Navarre had instant recourse to the Duke of Lancaster, then in Flanders, whom he had treated with great friendship in his last visit to Paris, and who was, moreover, his relative. Lancaster sent him officers and troops, who had no difficulty in reaching Mantes, such was the disordered state of the kingdom; and John found it expedient to dissemble and smother his resentment. A public reconciliation took place, as brief as it was insincere. Charles learned from his friends at court that the king was still deeply incensed against him, dissatisfied with the treaty of reconciliation, and even raising troops in Normandy. Charles of Navarre, therefore, privately withdrew to Avignon, where he met the Duke of Lancaster, and renewed his alliance with England.

When Edward learned the utter hopelessness of concluding an accommodation with France on the basis of his retaining Guienne and Calais without homage—for what he had, he was resolved to hold *absolutely*, and not in *fief*—the English king determined to put forth all his efforts to crush his enemy. He fitted out three expeditions; one under the Prince of Wales to Gascony, the other under the Duke of Lancaster, to act in Brittany in concert with Charles of Navarre; a third army Edward collected at Southampton, with which he himself intended to land in Normandy. But these vast preparations, at least for the northern campaign, were rendered fruitless by the inconstancy and weakness of Charles. That prince had sailed to Cherbourg with 2000 men, and Edward was at the Channel Islands about to join him, when the two French queens intervened, and made promises to the King of Navarre,

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from John, that all should be forgotten. The latter, and still more the members of his council, feared that if Charles admitted English troops into his fortresses of Cherbourg and Evreux, as well as of Mantes and Pontoise near Paris, the monarchy would be exposed to imminent peril. Promises of the most ample kind were therefore made to the King of Navarre, with entreaties and permission that he would come to Paris accompanied by no more than a hundred knights, and on his nominal submission and surrender of his fortresses, all should be restored and secured to him. Charles's demands in reply are characteristic of the time, and of the pretensions of the princes to reassume the prerogatives of the great ducal families. That prince demanded to "hold his possessions in Normandy as the duke used to do when there was a duchy," and that he was to have an independent *échiquier* or court of exchequer. Moreover, he required that his brothers should be treated as of the blood royal, a privilege which seems to have been denied them.* The court demurred to none of these demands, and the King of Navarre, against the advice and despite of the remonstrance of his brother, Philip, proceeded to Paris, became reconciled to John, and abandoned Edward. The English king, disgusted, withdrew his fleet from the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, and transferred his efforts to Calais, from whence he advanced with his army as far as Hesdin, wasting and burning. John mustered what forces he was able, and marched to challenge first Edward, and then the Duke of Lancaster, who paid small attention to his bravados.

The Prince of Wales made a most remarkable foray in Gascony. He had 1000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, and a large body of Gascon nobles. With these he proceeded from Bordeaux to Toulouse, where the French

* Comme les autres seigneurs des Fleurs de Lys. Every information and document relating to this quarrel between John and Charles have been collected by Secousse, Mémoires sur Charles II., roy de Navarre.

commander, the Count of Armagnac, had taken refuge. The citizens of Toulouse, mustering 46,000 men, wanted to be led out to fight; but the count told them their numbers would not avail against the English. Toulouse was too strong for these to assault; they therefore passed on to Avignonet and Castelnaudari, both of which they took and pillaged. Carcassonne tried to defend itself by chains drawn across the streets; but the English archers soon cleared such defences. Narbonne was not more successful. "It was a fat country," says Froissart, "that had for a long time not known war, the people simple, the chambers hung with tapestry, and their strongboxes full of jewels." Whilst the Prince of Wales was enriching his followers with the spoil of such a land, the Count of Armagnac and the constable, James of Bourbon, commanded far superior forces; but they preferred allowing the Black Prince to retire unmolested to Bordeaux with his booty.

These ravages of the English, both in the north and south, the west having been saved from a similar visitation solely by the impunity and the concessions offered to the King of Navarre, compelled John to fling himself upon his people. He summoned the estates of the Langue d'Oil, that is, of France north of the Dordogne, to meet at Paris in December, 1355. To these the monarch announced that he was prepared to make them every amends in the matter of adulterating the coin, begging them in return to vote him an *aide* for carrying on the war. This was an important step, in direct imitation of the mode in which the English king obtained subsidies of his parliaments. There was not, however, in France, as in England, the same facility of taxing imports and exports; and the three estates, after communing together, merely reestablished the *gabelle* or tax on salt, and doubled the duty on sales of all commodities. Hitherto the nobles and clergy were exempt from pay-

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ing such taxes upon what they sent to market: their immunity in this respect was now abrogated. The king already possessed the right of levying these taxes; but, as every town was now more or less menaced by the enemy*, the citizens or the local lords and magistrates applied what revenue they raised to purposes of local defence.† It was to remedy this, and probably at the king's own desire, that the estates ordained, that the tax should be levied, not by the royal officers, but by commissioners and agents appointed by the estates.

It was agreed also that these should reassemble in a few months, in March, 1356, to see what sum their vote had realised, and how any deficiency was to be made good. This first vote of a representative assembly in France for fiscal purposes proved a complete failure. It raised considerable discontent that the estates should merely sanction the very worst exactions of the crown. The great towns of the north, such as Rouen and Abbeville, set the order at nought, and even refused to send deputies again to an assembly that had evidently betrayed civic interests. The towns of Artois and Flanders were even more incensed. The common people of Arras rose, and slew fourteen of the most wealthy citizens,—those, no doubt, who were enforcing the *gabelle*.

These events gave more power to what might be called the liberal and middle-class party in the estates, and these, in lieu of the salt tax and sales duty, now voted a tax on property or income. Its remarkable feature was, that it included all classes, from the labourer to the noble, ecclesiastics not excepted, the amount of the tax being paid into the hands of six general receivers in Paris, appointed, not by the monarch, but the estates.‡

* See the Réglemens for the defence of the town of Poitiers, October, 1355.—*Ordonnances.*

† This is evident from the litigation about different sums of money between the king of Navarre and the crown. — See *Secousse.*

‡ Those who had one hundred

The discontent or resistance of the Normans and their towns was what John feared the most, possessed, as many of the latter were, by Charles of Navarre, and the whole province and its baronage being exposed to the temptations of Edward. This was one principal reason for King John's convoking the estates, and covering his own fiscal authority by theirs. He at the same time created his eldest son and heir Duke of Normandy, and sent him to Rouen to reconcile the people there to his exactions and his reign. It would seem that Charles of Navarre, instead of treating the young Duke of Normandy as a rival and a foe, on the contrary, strove to win him over to a policy and a party hostile to his father. The Normans seemed leagued against John, determined to resist his exactions, especially the taxes voted by the estates, which must have been distasteful to the noblesse.

John was informed of proceedings so hostile to his authority; and he learned, moreover, that those who were the planners and leaders of the opposition to him were to be at a certain time assembled, with the Duke of Normandy, in the castle of Rouen. John, urged by passion, and unrestrained by any sense of decorum or justice, hastened thither, well armed and accompanied, and so timed it as to enter by the postern of the castle at the moment when the King of Navarre, the Count of Harcourt, and other barons of their party, were seated at dinner with the Duke of Normandy. Of a sudden the king made his appearance, advanced to the table,

livres of revenue were to pay for each hundred livres four. No noble was to pay for more than 5000 livres, and for these he must pay four for the first hundred, and but two for the remaining hundreds. Non-nobles were not to pay for what they possessed above 1000 livres. Those who had but forty livres revenue were assessed in two livres; those who had ten livres, in one; those who had less, in ten sous. Labourers and domestics paid ten sous. The clergy were to pay, as they paid their tenths. Monks or Hospitallers were no longer exempted. The *gabelle* was declared to be suspended.

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laid hold upon the King of Navarre, and exclaimed, "Ha, traitor! you are no fit company for my son's table; by the soul of my father, I shall not eat or drink as long as you live!"

An esquire of the King of Navarre, Colinet de Bleville, who was carving, raised his knife, in defence of his master, against King John, who recoiled, and called his sergents to take the fellow as well as the King of Navarre. The latter besought John to have patience, and to believe him innocent. The young Duke of Normandy too besought his father not to dishonour him; for the world would say he had betrayed his guests. But the king told his son "they were bad traitors, whose acts he would soon expose." The king then took a mace from one of the sergents, struck the Count of Harcourt with it between the shoulders, crying, "On, proud traitor, to prison, with evil omen. You are of the lineage of the Count of Eu. You must sing well if you escape me." All the guests were arrested and imprisoned in the castle. In addition to the prayers of his son, John was assailed by some of the eminent citizens of Rouen, who demanded the grace and liberation of Count Harcourt, the especial friend and patron of the city. This was the very reason for which John feared and hated him, and aware how unable he would be to resist their solicitations, he resolved to execute vengeance past recall. The king called to him the King of the *Ribauds*, a commander of a kind of forlorn hope, or daring soldiers in war, whilst in peace they were charged with the police of the exterior of the royal residence, and ordered him to make ready for the execution of several of those just captured. The king, having soon after mounted on horseback, caused four of them to be brought out, tied in carts, being the Count of Harcourt, the Sire of Graville, the Chevalier Maubué, and the esquire. John refused to all but the last the permission to confess themselves, saying traitors

did not deserve such a favour. The heads of the victims were then cut off, and their bodies taken and hanged on the common gibbet.

The brothers of the two principal sufferers, Philip of Navarre and Godfrey of Harcourt, sent to defy King John in bitter words, telling him he might kill the King of Navarre for the same reason that he killed the Count of Eu and Guines, for greed to have his lands; but he would find the robbery more difficult than the murder. John, for reply, brought off the King of Navarre with him to Paris, and committed him to close prison, threatening his life continually, and subjecting him to all kinds of indignity and of pain. To the public and the estates the king declared he had proofs of Charles of Navarre and his accomplices having agreed to betray Normandy to the English. Edward solemnly denied any such compact, and the King of Navarre was considered by many the victim of popular interests.

Charles's brother and the Harcourts repaired to England, and obtained the aid of the Duke of Lancaster, who, with a very inconsiderable force, the Prince of Wales having the greater part of the English troops with him in Germany, landed at Cherbourg. The Duke of Lancaster had but 500 lances and 1000 archers. The Harcourts and Philip of Navarre brought a force considerably greater; and the united army advanced to Evreux first, and then to Vernon. They burned this town, as well as Verneuil, whilst King John was mustering an army at St. Denis. The English and the party of Navarre were engaged in burning the suburbs of Rouen, when they learned that the King of France was approaching with 4000 horse. Before so superior a force the Duke of Lancaster retreated, pursued by the reproaches, as well as the chivalry, of John. The latter asked the duke to turn and fight. The duke, in reply, said, that John must follow him if he wished to fight; and that, in order to give the French greater facilities

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of finding him, he would order a lanthern to be carried in the rear of his army. The duke regained Cherbourg, however, without fighting, and John, laying siege to the King of Navarre's town of Evreux, entered it, the Navarrese burning it as they left, and the French completing its destruction. From thence John proceeded to besiege another fortress of the King of Navarre, Breteuil.

Whilst the French king with his army was investing Breteuil, the Prince of Wales set out from Bordeaux on a plundering and conquering expedition similar to that which had proved so disgraceful and disastrous to his enemies in the preceding year. Instead of proceeding south, he now struck northwards, crossed the Dordogne, and entered the rich and flat province of Berry, which he wasted in all directions. John, learning the devastation of the provinces beyond the Loire, hastened to offer favourable terms to the garrison of Breteuil; and, getting possession of it, summoned all the nobles of the north and centre provinces to muster at Chartres. The Black Prince was informed at Vierzon of these preparations of his foes; and, instead of penetrating north of the Loire, as had been his purpose, he resolved to return leisurely by way of Touraine and Poitou to Bordeaux. Taking this route, the English encountered, near Romorantin, 300 lances, forming the advanced guard of the French army. They flung themselves into the castle of the town, which was soon reduced by the prince's guns throwing Greek fire, so that the French were compelled to surrender.

After this exploit, which took place in the first days of September, the Black Prince pursued his way to Poitiers. The French army, led by King John and his four sons, had poured over the Loire to the number of 20,000 men-at-arms, with archers and light troops proportionate, their point of destination being the same town, where at least they hoped to come up with the English

army. In their zeal they outstripped the Black Prince; and John occupied Poitiers with his army, whilst the English were advancing but within a few leagues of it. The capture of three French knights, who stumbled on the advanced guard of the English, informed them that their enemies were before them. The march was accordingly stopped, and the prince encamped on a high ground surrounded by hedges and vines, called the field of Maupertuis, about two leagues to the north of the capital of Poitou.

The French king heard also, with surprise, that his army had got before the English at Poitiers, and thus intercepted their march. Almost all his noblesse was by his side; for, although John's warlike expeditions were in general undertaken with a moderate number of paid troops, there at present was a great feudal muster of the whole country to overwhelm the invaders. No less than 60,000 men had been collected. These were drawn up on the Sunday morning of the 18th of September, 1356, in three divisions, 16,000 well-armed men in each. The first was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, John's brother; the second, by the heir to the throne, Charles, Duke of Normandy, and his two brothers Louis and John, Counts of Anjou and Berri. The king led the third division, and had with him his youngest son, Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy. John could not but exult to find himself at the head of so brilliant and so numerous an army; and he exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, when ye are at Paris or Rouen, you are always menacing the English, and are impatient to have your armour on to fight them: behold, ye have your wish."

Eustace de Ribeaumont was sent, with others, to reconnoitre the position of the English. Froissart gives his words: "I have carefully examined them," said the knight: "they are about 2000 men-at-arms, 4000 archers, and 1500 *brigands*, or foot soldiers. They are strongly

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posted, and appear to form but one division, in a place which there is but one way of approaching, a road where not more than four may ride abreast. There are fences on either side, and these fences the enemy has lined with archers. At the summit of this road are posted their men-at-arms, with archers in front. They will be difficult to assail," concluded De Ribeaumont.

"And how should you advise us to attack?" asked the king.

"Sire, we should all descend from our horses," replied the knight, "except 300 of the hardiest and best mounted, who should advance first to break through the archers, and leave an opening by which the rest might follow to a hand-to-hand fight."

The counsel of Ribeaumont was adopted. All the knights, except 300, were ordered to dismount, take off their spurs, and cut short their lances to five feet. Amidst these preparations for the combat appeared the Cardinal Talleyrand-Perigord, who craved the French prince to allow of a truce for the Sunday, that he might go backwards and forwards between the armies, and endeavour to bring about an accommodation. The king consented, and the cardinal spent Sunday bringing offers from one camp to the other. It was rumoured that the Black Prince offered to cede all the conquests, prisoners, and booty which he had made in this expedition, if he were allowed to retire free with his army to Bordeaux; and that, moreover, he consented not to serve against the King of France for seven years. But John, who saw that he was between the prince and Bordeaux, with a force ten times that of the English, would not consent to terms, unless the prince, with a hundred of his chief followers, should constitute themselves prisoners. The reply of the Black Prince was, that "England should never pay his ransom."

The French army was well furnished with provisions, whilst the English had but a very scanty allowance, and

their prospects were far from bright. "Still," said John Chandos, "I hope there will be a fight: for if we are beaten by such a multitude, we shall incur no blame; whereas, if we are victorious, we shall be the most glorious fellows in the world." The prince caused more ditches to be dug, and, to defend the passes between them, filled them with his cars. On the morning of the battle he sent 300 men-at-arms and 300 archers to take post behind a rising ground, in order to fall upon the French flank during the heat of battle.

The engagement commenced, as Ribeaumont had counselled, by the 300 chosen knights charging up the narrow road. This array was soon thrown into confusion by the arrows which poured in upon them from on either side, and when they reached the main body of the English, they were driven back with the loss of the two marshals who led them. The first of the French divisions was thus broken and compelled to fall back on the second, commanded by the Duke of Normandy, which, in consequence, began to waver. At this moment the 600 men whom the Black Prince had placed in ambush made their concerted charge, took the division of the Duke of Normandy in flank, and threw it into utter confusion. The main body of the English then advanced from their strong position, the Black Prince crying out, "Ride on, banner, in the name of God and St. George!" The Duke of Normandy and his two brothers did not stand the shock, but, taking with them 800 lances which had not yet been in the fight, fled from the field.

The Duke of Orleans had rallied the remains of his, the first division, behind that of the king, who, far from having any idea of retreat, called on his followers to dismount, and, although he saw before him the fugitives of his son's division give way, he still ordered his banner forward, to the cry of "God and St. Denys," and, with his *hache d'armes* in his hand, advanced to attack the prince. Had one fourth of the French, says

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Froissart, done their duty as well as King John, they would have won the day. Many French nobles had, however, been slain; amongst them the Duke of Bourbon, the constable, Ribaumont, the Bishop of Chalons. The Count of Tancarville, James of Bourbon, John and Charles of Artois were struck down and taken close to the king. The monarch himself was hard pressed, but was unwilling to surrender except to the Prince of Wales. He was at last obliged to give his right gauntlet, in token of surrender, to Denis de Mortbecque, a knight of Artois, who promised to lead the monarch and his son Philip to the English prince. It was a difficult task, so many English and Gascons, in emulation, claiming the honour of the capture and the prisoner. John begged them to be courteous, "for, as a captive, he was rich enough to make all their fortunes." Fortunately, the Lords Warwick and Cobham, sent by the prince, arrived, and rescued the French king and his son from the press, bringing him to the tent of the Black Prince, who bowed himself before the captive monarch, received him as king, and ordered refreshments to be instantly offered him. Later, when supper was served up for the illustrious captives, the conqueror served them at table, and sought to do them all the honour and afford them all the consolation in his power.

The battle of Poitiers lasted from morn till noon; but it was night ere the conquerors retired from the pursuit, which was the more fatal as the town had shut its gates. Besides those who had perished, thirteen counts, nearly seventy barons, and 2000 knights were taken. The Earl of Warwick, who captured the Archbishop of Melun, had 8000*l.* for his ransom; on the other hand, Lord Berkeley, who had been saved by John de Helena, paid 6000 nobles. The Prince of Wales conducted his royal prisoners to Bordeaux. The king's capture was the most serious result of the victory, being an event so

new, a case so totally unprovided for, that the whole country was struck at once with surprise and terror.

Froissart paints vividly the disastrous state of France when the king, who was its all, was led away captive. The monarch's sons were young and with "few resources." "The knights and nobles who had fled from the battlefield were so generally blamed and ill regarded, that they could scarcely venture into the good towns. The people murmured and communed one with another, whilst English and Navarrese from the Cotentin overran and ravaged the country."

The first act of Charles, Duke of Normandy, on reaching Paris from Poitiers, was to assume authority as lieutenant of the kingdom, as well as son of the king, and, in this capacity, to hasten the assembly of the States-General for the 15th of October. It was necessary, in the meantime, to provide for the safety of the city; and this was undertaken by Stephen Marcel, a draper, *Prévost des Marchands*, chief of the trading corporation. At his command, the more exposed gates of the city were closed up, the walls repaired, the buildings that masked these walls, many of them convents, destroyed, the ditches deepened and cleared out, and chains provided to stretch across the streets so as to arrest the progress of an invading enemy. A civic force, of a spirit and organisation calculated to support such measures, had been formed by the Estates of 1355, and the Duke of Normandy thus found his authority in the capital very different from what, as royal vicegerent, he might consider himself entitled to.

At the meeting of the three estates, the Commons found themselves in the majority. They were 400 out of 800. The nobles were too much prostrated by their late defeat — the clergy were bewildered and in doubt: the townsfolk alone were eager for the defence of the country, and prepared to organise an administration. But an assembly of 800 could not undertake this, whilst

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separate assemblies of either clergy or nobles were at the moment uninfluential and unequal to the emergency. Eighty members were therefore chosen of the 800, and these were dominated and guided by two leading spirits, the Provost Marcel, and Robert Lecoq, once an advocate and a functionary, now Bishop of Laon. They had no need of inventing any new mode of raising taxes. The estates of the preceding year had gone far enough in appointing a Commission of Nine to preside over the levying of the salt tax and other contributions. But the provincial towns had rebelled against the assumption of authority by the estates in which the Parisians dominated; and therefore Lecoq and Marcel were under the necessity of wielding power more directly under the royal sanction. They complained that the nobles and the king's councillors had nullified all their previous efforts for economy and reform, and that it was necessary to form another royal or grand council, by whose advice the prince should act, and through which the whole administration should be carried on: this council to be elected by the estates. Mr. H. Martin says with justice, these were the *Provisions of Oxford*, except that the nobles had nothing to do with them, and that it was an assumption, not merely of legislative, but administrative power by the citizens.

To carry such a change into effect, it was necessary to proscribe the old councillors; and accordingly the Assembly of Eighty proposed the arrest of the Chancellor, the Chief of the Mint, the King's *Maître d'Hôtel*, and the First President of Parlement, threatening at the same time inferior personages and departments. When the accused personages fled, the assembly ordered that their goods should be seized.

To these demands, so offensive to royalty, to the noblesse, to the legists and functionaries, and to all the upper and eminent classes, the Duke of Normandy refused to accede, so that the *aide* with which the

assembly coupled their demands, of the pay of 30,000 men-at-arms for a year, fell to the ground. The duke at the same time refused the request of the estates that he should liberate the King of Navarre. Humbled as the throne was, the duke would not facilitate its usurpation by an exasperated rival, nor did he wish to give the democratic party a chief so powerful as a prince of the blood. There was no formal prorogation of the estates or refusal of their demands by the lieutenant of the kingdom: he merely besought the members to return to their provinces. He himself, he said, was about to repair to his uncle, the emperor, at Metz, to consult with him concerning the ransom of the king. When the Duke of Normandy left Paris upon this journey, Queen Jeanne also withdrew to Burgundy.

The moment was critical for the monarchy. The representatives of the three orders were every where usurping the powers of the crown. Those of Languedoc, assembled at Toulouse, in ordaining a tax, appointed their own receivers to levy and dispense it, and raise 4000 men, as well to support their authority as defend the provinces. The estates of Paris, on learning the ravages of Godfrey Harcourt in Normandy, collected 300 lances and 500 men-at-arms, and commissioned four gentlemen to lead them. Meeting Harcourt and his force near Coutances, this parliamentary army allowed his archers to expend their missiles, and then rushed upon them and defeated them. Godfrey de Harcourt was amongst those who perished.

If the commons were thus encroaching and bold, the prince was imprudent. The original and chief cause of complaint with the industrious and trading classes was the adulteration of the coin, and promises upon promises had been given, especially by the Duke of Normandy, that the expedient should not be again employed. Yet, when he departed to Metz, he left orders with his brother to issue a debased coinage of *moutons*. They

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tried the experiment; but no sooner did the first pieces of new money make their appearance, than Marcel and the town authorities interfered, and the Duke of Anjou was obliged to suspend the coinage until the return of his elder brother from Metz. Charles did return, and evidently with the intention of asserting, not abandoning, his authority. For he assumed the title of regent, and came accompanied by the obnoxious Chancellor La Foret, who, for personal security, had obtained the dignity of cardinal.

Regent and cardinal made the first trial of their authority in endeavouring to force the citizens to receive the new coin. For answer, Marcel ordered the traders to arm, marshal their ranks along the streets, and proceed with banners flying towards the palace. Without any force capable of resisting, the regent was alarmed, and, summoning Marcel, consented to yield. The estates were to be again summoned, and the high functionaries accused by the assembly, including the chancellor, were obliged to withdraw.

Whilst the regent and the civic authorities of Paris renewed these scenes of mutual distrust and defiance, the country fell into anarchy. Philip of Navarre regained possession of Evreux. Bands of mercenaries (*soudoyers*) no longer receiving pay from any party, set up for themselves, seized towns and castles, the barons doing the same; and nothing but ravage and plunder prevailed throughout the land. "The male population," says the continuator of Nangis, "unable to remain in their villages, flocked to Paris with their families and chattels. Monks and nuns were compelled to follow their example. Those of Poissy, Longchamps, St. Antoine, and St. Marcel, were all obliged to remain within the walls." Famine and want of employ began the more to be felt; and all those circumstances which contribute to produce the turbulent and revolutionary state of a capital, were furnished by the events and disasters of this early time.

The estates again assembled in February, 1357, the deputies of towns in still greater numbers; but Marcel and Lecoq acquired a valuable colleague in the lord of Picquigny upon the Somme, who was as eager against the court as they were, whilst he could boast what they wanted, the quality of a military commander and the rank of a knight and a noble.* The first act of the States was a petition of grievances, a complaint of the ministers and of the chancellor, whom the regent persisted in retaining; it complained that all the measures of reform were obstructed; and the demand of the former estates was repeated, of a council to be chosen from those elected by the estates, in which was to be vested all administrative and royal power.

Charles now found himself so completely at the mercy of the States, having failed to obtain money or supporters independent of them, that he resolved to bow before the storm, and accept the demands made of him. He consented, therefore, to the appointment of the Council of Thirty-six, who were to raise the taxes, appoint officers, and exercise all the functions of government.

It was apparently fortunate, but probably the reverse for France, that Edward the Third did not follow up the victory of Poitiers by invading and attacking that country with all the forces he could collect. Such menace might have compelled the democratic leaders to humble their pretensions, and conciliate the noblesse; but the English seemed to base their hopes on a peaceable agreement with John, who, in addition to paying a ransom of 600,000 florins, which was the sum fixed, according to Walsingham, would, no doubt, have ceded to the English all they held in France, without homage.

* Picquigny was no doubt descended from that John of Picquigny, who was seneschal of Toulouse in the reign of Philip the Fair, and who was such a foe of the Inquisition. He was thus of the functionary as well as of the noble class.

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But Marcel and Lecoq showed no anxiety for the king's return; and the Black Prince brought the royal captive to England, giving the Gascons 100,000 livres by way of compensation for their share in the capture. John was honourably received; he entered London on a white charger, whilst the Prince of Wales ambled by his side on a small palfrey; and the French monarch was royally lodged at Windsor. In order, at the same time, to allow John the opportunity of collecting his ransom and disposing his subjects to a treaty with England, a truce was concluded for two years, which certainly was on the part of Edward a policy of great forbearance and even generosity. It stated that the object was neither to distress nor conquer France, but to obtain from it a fair and definite settlement.

John, however, had no authority, his son no power; whilst the leaders in the estates or Grand Council, although they had many grievances which were justly complained of, and many abuses which imperatively cried for remedy, knew but vaguely what they aimed at. The perpetuation of their own supremacy was impossible without conciliating or crushing rival or dominant classes. And though the Regent Charles had submitted momentarily, his acquiescence was evidently not to be depended on. In the midst of these doubts arrived two envoys from King John, annulling all that had been done by, and all that had been conceded to, the orders. The king forbade the estates to assemble, and the people either to obey them or pay their contributions to the new receivers who had been appointed. In the capital such a prohibition, however signed by the monarch, was idle. It merely threatened to bring severe punishment on the heads of the envoys who brought it. Charles was obliged to disown them; but it not the less encouraged the few waverers of the noblesse, who still adhered to the estates, to abandon them. It had a similar effect upon the clergy. The prohibition to pay

taxes was too palatable not to be pleaded even by several towns and townspeople. These signs of provincial disaffection towards the leaders in the metropolis encouraged Charles to leave Paris, and try to recover some portion of authority and force by visiting the good towns. He accordingly revoked the powers of Marcel and the Thirty-six, following the orders of his sire, and then withdrew to Rouen. But the towns of Normandy, although willing to shake off the supremacy and refuse the taxation of Paris, needing their own resources to defend themselves against the partisans of Navarre, would not abet the Duke of Normandy in any active opposition, much less were they prepared to aid him in raising an army for the purposes of civil war. Charles, therefore, was once more compelled to submit, return to Paris, and reconvoke the estates, Marcel having the boldness to send missives in his own name for this purpose along with the more regular summons from the regent. The Provost of Paris had come to the conviction that no trust could be placed in the heir to the throne, who was too deeply interested in preserving the prerogatives of the crown, to admit of his accepting frankly the co-operation of the States. It was therefore resolved by the triumvirate of Marcel, Lecoq, and Picquigny, that Charles, King of Navarre, was to be rescued from his prison, placed at the head of the government, and subsequently on the throne, if possible. He was kept prisoner in a fortress near Cambray. Picquigny surprised it, at a moment when the garrison was absent, with a body of the armed militia of Amiens; and Charles the Bad, once more at large, hastened to Amiens, and caused himself to be received there and enrolled as a citizen. From thence the new king of the burgesses entered Paris in triumph, the regent consenting to receive and welcome him. On the day after his arrival the city authorities assembled the people in the *Pré aux Clercs*, in order to listen to an harangue from the newly arrived prince.

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He spoke from a scaffold erected for the king, when he presided over single combats, an harangue which lasted for three hours, some of the accounts say, in Latin, but this is hardly credible. He recounted his sufferings in prison and his undoubted wrongs at the hand of King John, moving, says the continuator of Nangis, the people to tears. He hinted, moreover, that his mother was the daughter of Louis Hutin, giving him a nearer and a better claim to the throne than that which Edward the Third made by right of his mother. In order, apparently, that no revolutionary manœuvre might be omitted, the King of Navarre procured that the prisons should be opened and the inmates let loose to swell the number of his partisans. Before so formidable a rival the regent was obliged to bow; all his castles and possessions were to be restored, and large indemnities were to be superadded.

With these assurances the King of Navarre proceeded to Rouen, in order to take down solemnly from the gibbet the remains of Harcourt and his other friends, decapitated by John, and bestow upon them Christian sepulture. He seized the occasion to make a long discourse to the people of Rouen, taking for his text, "The innocent and just are on my side." Here too he opened the prisons. But, on proceeding to Evreux and his possessions in Normandy, the royal officers in command of his fortresses refused to deliver them up except to an order from King John. The hostilities between the King of Navarre and the regent accordingly recommenced, although they were less war than mutual ravage.

Large bodies of English mercenaries, whom the Duke of Lancaster had employed in Brittany, had left that province for Normandy, and engaged partly in the service of Philip of Navarre, partly warred on their own account. Pipe, Knollys, and Griffiths were their captains, and they grew rich, since, says Knighton, "they made all the country for sixty leagues round

Paris tributary to them." If Paris itself resisted, it was because Marcel had converted it into a fortified town; but the crowd within its walls, with the dearth of provisions, aggravated the existing causes of discontent. The provost, Marcel, and his followers flung upon the bad faith of the crown the blame of the war being renewed with the King of Navarre. In order to repel the accusations made against him, the regent felt himself obliged to adopt the habits of his rival. He went, therefore, to the *Halle*, or great market, and harangued the people, saying that "he was endeavouring to assemble troops to punish and disperse the brigands who ravaged the country; that he would long since have put them down had he had money; but the estates had not given him a *denier*. Nevertheless he was resolved to live and die with the people." The Provost Marcel immediately summoned another popular meeting, before which he declared "that he had not abstracted or received any of the money raised by the states. The receivers had taken it; and one of these declared that a large sum had been paid by the advice of the court to certain knights and commanders, who had turned it to little account." In fact, there was no military authority. Marcel and the citizens had hoped to find a commander whom they might trust in — Charles of Navarre; but as he felt himself wronged and obliged to go to war with the regent, mercenary bands and brigands were masters of the country.

An event which occurred in January, 1358, led to an irreconcilable quarrel between the regent and the city magistrates. The clerk of a money-changer, named Perrin Marc, having sought payment in vain of the duke's treasurer, Baillet, stabbed him, in an altercation, and then fled for sanctuary to the church of St. Merri. The regent sent one of his officers, Robert of Clermont, Marshal of Normandy, to seize the criminal. He broke open the church gates, took Perrin, and, instead of

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delivering him to the city magistrates for trial, at once hanged him. The Bishop of Paris, who, like the Bishop of Laon, was in the Navarrese interest, excommunicated the marshal. There ensued an open feud between the estates, which "had the government, and raised military companies on one side, and those who wore coats of mail," in other words, were knights and nobles. These were wont to collect about the regent, in the Louvre, whilst the city bands, in uniform, and caps of red and blue, marshalled before the provost and around the new Hôtel de Ville, which he had bought and embellished, in the Place de Grève. On one of these occasions an officer of the court, D'Aci, advocate-general, was recognised by the armed mob, which instantly slew him. Marcel and his followers, excited by the act, resolved to follow it up, and marched to the Louvre. At the noise of the mob in thousands bursting into the court and mounting the stairs of the palace, the courtiers fled. The marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, De Conflans and De Clermont, alone remained with the regent. Marcel broke into the apartment, with his tumultuous followers, and reproached Charles with neglecting the affairs of the kingdom, and allowing the country to be pillaged by mercenaries. This was a matter, observed the regent, for those to look to who levied the revenues of the crown and usurped its authority. Marcel for reply said something to his men, who fell upon the Marshal of Normandy, and killed him so near to where the duke sat as to cover him with blood. De Clermont sought to withdraw, but was intercepted, and slain with equal fury. The regent thought he was about to share their fate; but Marcel told him he was in no danger, and asked him to change caps or *chaperons*. After these daring and sanguinary acts, which remained as precedents for the popular fury, Marcel harangued the mob from the window of the Hôtel de Ville, and was unfortunately able to employ in his justification the same

words which King John had used at Rouen on the morn of the execution of Harcourt and his companions, — that "they were bad patriots, and that it was for the public good to slay them."

This act of Marcel was approved by the assembly of the estates, which was now totally deserted by the noblesse, and even by many of the deputies of the towns. A few of the clergy remained as the spokesmen and leaders of the democracy. All the adherents and companions of the regent who sought to make him lean on the nobles, and resist the Parisians, were obliged to withdraw, and the council was remodelled as Marcel and his party desired. The immediate result aimed at by the revolution took place. The King of Navarre returned to Paris. The regent's forced reconciliation, or subjection, to him was celebrated by banquets and by murders; all the demands of the Navarrese were conceded.

The presence and co-operation of King Charles of Navarre had become a necessity for the Parisian magistrates: for, especially since the murder of the marshals, they and their estates were becoming more isolated. Not only distance, but the brigands, intervened between the capital and the provinces. The south seemed to pursue its own course independently. The regions and towns east of Paris, those of Burgundy and Champagne, had, almost from the first, disapproved of the republican tendencies of the capital. These were provinces in which feudalism had not been either rigid or exclusive; and there accordingly citizens and nobles sympathised with each other, and agreed. It was, on the contrary, in those provinces where feudal privileges had been most strained, and where there was no land without a lord, in the Beauvaisis, in Picardy, the Vermandois, and Normandy, that not only the townsfolk were turbulent and democratic, but even the peasantry showed the same inclinations. Amiens, Rouen, and Beauvais were zea-

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lous for the King of Navarre and the cause of the commonalty.

But whilst Marcel was securing and celebrating their alliance, the regent quitted Paris for the purpose, or under the pretext, of holding the estates of Champagne at Provins. Parisian deputies went with him in order to engage the Champaigners to repair to the capital. When they made this demand, the estates questioned the regent respecting the death of De Conflans, Marshal of Champagne, and whether he had been guilty of any crime? The regent replied, that he had not. Whereupon the States of Champagne declared that his death ought to be avenged upon the Parisians, instead of the people of Champagne becoming their accomplices. The regent met with similar adherence, and equal success, in the Vermandois, of which he held the Estates at Compiègne. He summoned thither, indeed, the estates, not merely of the provinces, but of the kingdom. Few but the towns of the east obeyed the call. Picardy and Normandy adhered to Paris and to the King of Navarre, who held a kind of court there: the men of the south held aloof.

Whilst the civic and noble classes were thus at strife, there arose a third party, which hitherto had been the tranquil victim of their broils. In this period of general anarchy, the entire region around Paris, and especially north of it, was ravaged by the mercenary bands. From them the townsfolk were protected by their walls, the nobles by their castles; on the villagers and rustic inhabitants fell all the weight of rapine, they being prohibited from the use and possession of arms. The nobles arrogated to themselves almost exclusively this right, whilst they failed to protect the country from the foreign foe and against intestine robbery. This maddened the peasantry of the Beauvaisis, of Brie, of Valois, Laon, and Soissons. About a hundred of them met at Clermont first, and raised the cry of "Death to gentlemen!"

They elected a leader, called William Karl, or Callet, and rushed to the attack and destruction of the houses of the nobles. These hundreds soon swelled to thousands, and there was no excess of which they were not guilty: they slew the nobles themselves, with their wives and children, first treating the women with every indignity, their avowed purpose being to extinguish the race. They roasted a noble before the eyes of his family, and sought to make it eat the flesh of the victim. Saracen or Christian, says Froissart, never committed such iniquities.

The name given to the French peasant by the wits of the time was *Jacques Bonhomme*. The truth of the latter epithet it seemed their aim to disprove, for never was greater malignity shown. There remains a doubt as to how far the townsfolk may have excited their rustic brethren to this revolt; but it does not appear that any great town made common cause with them. They were repulsed from Compiègne though they entered Senlis. Marcel endeavoured to make use of the *Jacques* in humbling the noblesse and destroying their strongholds, without the infamy of outraging women and slaying children. But whilst Marcel was politic enough to make this attempt, the King of Navarre could not but sympathise with the noblesse, and fly to their aid. The *Jacques*, knowing his liberal reputation, were inclined to negotiate with him, which enabled the King of Navarre to entice the chief and some of his officers to parley. While thus engaged, they were surprised, bound, and decapitated. This is not the last instance of a magnate betraying those who trusted, and massacring those who could have best supported him. Charles afterwards attacked the army of *Jacques*, and slew 3000 of them.

The regent, after holding the estates of Champagne and of Vermandois, and procuring their adhesion, took his principal military post at Meaux in order to

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straiten Paris. To this place not only did his troops repair, but the ladies of the court, the Duchess of Normandy and of Orleans, as well as the wives of the noblesse, betook themselves to Meaux as to a place of safety. The market of this town, surrounded by walls and by water, had been rendered a fortress by the regent. The *Jacques* attacked the town, in concert with a few Parisians, and easily made themselves masters of all save the market. The Count of Foix, and the Captal de Buch, Gascon nobles, were returning from a campaign with the Teutonic Knights of Prussia against the pagans, when they heard of the peril of the noble ladies at Meaux. Though the captal was a subject of King Edward, he still flew with De Foix to the rescue of the 300 ladies menaced by the *Jacques;* and these were routed and driven into the Maine with great slaughter. The victors of Meaux then attacked Senlis; there the citizens and *Jacques* fought together, and made a most obstinate resistance. But the nobles, reinforced by knights and nobles from Brabant, Hainault, and the Gascon hordes, annihilated the peasantry, notwithstanding their numbers; and the insurrection of the *Jacques* was drowned in blood.

The remarkable feature of the *Jacquerie* is its extreme ferocity: the refinement of cruelty practised by the peasant upon the lord, the indignities offered to the women, the pitiless massacre of children. Such acts would appear impossible in a Christian country, had not the prelates and high churchmen themselves set the example in their crusades against the Albigenses. Ever since that time, ferocity had been increasing,—kings, judges, and politicians grew every day less scrupulous and more sanguinary. The honour of the feudal gentleman was extinct, at least in the breast of princes. The equity of the Roman law, boasted to have superseded barbarism, was but chicanery in the service of tyranny and bloodshed. Religion was silent; its bene-

volent action seemed suspended. The Popes from Avignon sent legates from time to time, to recommend peace between England and France. But no one seemed to pay the least attention to them: there were no eminent, no influential ecclesiastics; the only churchmen who showed talent were in the ranks of the Parisian democracy. Rienzi lorded it at Rome, as Marcel did in Paris. The French patronage or absorption of the Papacy had paralysed the religion of which it was the chief. No marvel that such events gave birth to a Wicliffe in England. In France, the struggle between citizen and noble, between the representative of the king and the chief prince of the blood, between the functionary and the reformer, the debaser of the coin and the town politician, so absorbed every thought and every energy, that the cause of religious freedom, or that of religious orthodoxy, were alike forgotten: and, whether fortunately or unfortunately, fanaticism did not form an element of the time.

The muster of knights and nobles to put down the *Jacques* came exceedingly opportune for the regent. In their minds, the excesses of the peasants, and those of the Parisians, were equally subversive of order, of loyalty, and of right. The duke was therefore able to approach Paris from the east with 7000 lances. He occupied the bridge of St. Maur and that of Charenton, thus stopping all the provisions that reached the capital by either the Seine or the Marne. Marcel had recourse to the King of Navarre, who came to Paris, harangued as usual, and was elected captain. But those who "wore mail," the knights and nobles, would not trust themselves in the hands of the Parisians, much less espouse their cause; and their new chief could only bring an army of mercenaries, English, as they were all called, of whatever nation they might be, with James Pype at their head. These soldiers agreed ill with the Parisians, and even created by their licentiousness a beginning of

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disaffection towards Marcel, as well as disgust towards his ally. The mercenaries, moreover, infinitely preferred the sojourn of open fields and villages, with large opportunities for plunder, to being shut up in a walled town. Their head-quarters were therefore removed to St. Denys, a detachment of them occupying St. Cloud. Several skirmishes took place between the two armies: on one occasion the King of Navarre, advancing upon Charenton, met the regent's forces "with long discourses, and no combat," says the continuator of Nangis, which raised considerable suspicion. The discourses led to an interview between them; and the interview to an agreement, of which some of the conditions remained secret. The King of Navarre received a large sum of money, and promised that the Parisians should furnish a much larger sum, for the king's ransom. Froissart says, it was stipulated that Marcel and his colleagues should be punished for the murder of the marshals. The king, if he really made such promises, was in no condition to perform them. Summoned by the Parisians, he and his mercenaries were obliged to join in a fresh attack, which did not prevent negotiations from being renewed. The evident relations and understanding between the King of Navarre and the regent, had different effects upon the Provost Marcel, and upon the mass of the Parisians, who habitually supported him. The latter was alarmed at a desertion which must prove fatal to him. The people were not less alarmed than indignant: and they could neither approve nor comprehend the sacrifices which Marcel daily made to keep his royal associate true to his trust. The provost sent money in considerable quantities to St. Denys, and promised, it is said, to proclaim the King of Navarre Monarch of France, and thus protect his English mercenaries against the justice or the rage of the people. These soldiers had pillaged all the environs of the capital; driven monks and nuns, even those of Montmartre, to take

refuge within the walls; and even in the city committed the greatest excesses. At last there sprung up a determined war between the mercenaries and the Parisians, the latter making expeditions to surprise and punish them, but being generally themselves surprised and slain by those hardy and wary soldiers. It became, at last, impossible for Marcel to keep his position and defend the capital, whilst the citizens treated at once the troops of the regent and those of the opposite faction as enemies. They no longer listened to the orders or reproaches of the provost, who therefore determined to introduce the King of Navarre at the head of his army of mercenaries into the capital, for the purpose of crushing all opposed to them. The chiefs, however, of the royalist party, as it might be called, were vigilant, and watched the steps of the provost. These were the brothers Maillart, De Charny, a friend of the regent, and Pepin des Essarts. One night in July 1358 especially, Marcel stayed and slept at the bastille, or fortress, which guarded the gate of St. Antoine, with the intention of letting in the Navarrese. Froissart even says he had the keys of the gate in his hand for the purpose of handing them to the king's officers, when Maillart coming up, exclaimed, that the provost was there for no good purpose, and that the keys should not be given up. An altercation ensued, which is differently related; but, in the scuffle, Marcel was struck down, by either Maillart or Charny, with the blow of an axe. Six or seven of his companions were slain also. The followers most attached to him were arrested in their homes and conveyed to prison. Two of the most prominent, Josseran, the King of Navarre's treasurer, and Toussac, one of the *echevins*, or sheriffs, were executed the next day. The regent, who was at Meaux, was immediately informed of the revolution which had been accomplished in his favour: he lost no time to take advantage of it, and returned to the capital. He

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caused a new provost to be chosen, and sent to the scaffold those citizens who had been the most zealous for Marcel and the Navarrese. "They will do the same by you one of these days," exclaimed a fellow to the regent as he rode past the dead bodies through the streets of Paris. The Count of Tankerville drew his sword to slay the ruffian for his impertinence. "Let him be, handsome sir," said the regent, holding his hand; "people would not believe your reason for killing him, and the insurrection might recommence."

This caution sufficiently marks the character of Charles the Prudent or the Wise, who had learned how to deal with popular turbulence, dissemble indignation, and defer vengeance. Marcel was the first representative in France of those civic leaders, who, strong in popular support, boldly seized the government, defied the prince, and directed the energies of the State to compass what he considered its salvation. This is enough to procure his execration by the royalist, and his deification by the revolutionary historian. If ever the ambition or the usurped authority of such a man were to be pardoned, if not admired, it certainly was in the case of Marcel, who, when the king had been taken captive, numbers of the nobility brought off with him, and the rest defeated and dishonoured,—when not only the English, but the partisans of the King of Navarre, ravaged the country and compelled the townspeople to repair and to man the walls for defence,—and when the peasants were so exasperated, by the prohibition to defend themselves, and the helplessness of government or nobles to protect them, that they rose in madness to slay, burn, and destroy all around them,—it was the duty of a civic leader to stand up in such an epoch, endeavour to support the interest of his class, and give it due influence in the fiscal and political administration. Many had felt and undertaken this task in the cities of Italy and of Flanders; but none perceived the inexpediency,

if not the impossibility, of one class of the body politic permanently excluding or dominating over another. Had the three orders of the estates which met at Paris in the years of 1356 and 1357 worked together, recognised each other's rights, conciliated each other's prejudices, there might have resulted in France, as in England, the great compromise of a constitution, in which each class respecting its brethren and its rivals, all might have performed the duties and contributed the efforts that patriotism demands. But it unfortunately has ever been the characteristic of the Latin races for plebeian and patrician to proscribe each other; and this, unfortunately, seems as true in the nineteenth as it was in the fourteenth century. Marcel can therefore scarcely be blamed for not seeing what Petion in after days failed to perceive; and even seeing the necessity of an accord with the noblesse, he might have found these as impracticable as they proved 400 years later.

It was a peculiar characteristic of the Capets,—from Hugh their founder down to Philip the Fair, and even to his sons,—that, far from favouring the pretensions of the nobles to crush the townsfolk, they, on the contrary, sided very generally with the towns. They became thus the founders, patrons, and protectors of the industrious classes; and thus their constant policy had considerable effect in inducing French towns to rely on the crown for the maintenance of their rights rather than upon their own autocracy or *commune*. The Valois, however, reversed all this. Philip scorned the middle class. He consulted his legists, wrung what money he could from his burgess subjects, but made no use of them in war or in council. Even John would not stoop to consult them, and left that source of power and influence to Charles of Navarre. With the accession of the Valois, therefore, came a severance between the crown and the civic classes, which awakened amongst them a spirit previously unknown in North France, however prevalent in

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Italy and the cities of the south. There arose a republican spirit, and a tendency to resist authority, not in defence of any principle or in pursuit of any fixed or legitimate aim, but with apparently a love of mere turbulence and anarchy.*

It is startling, indeed, to find how closely one epoch of French history resembles another, and how, with an interval of centuries between, similar situations reoccur with similar causes, events, characters, catastrophes, and results. It is impossible to contemplate or narrate the period on which we are now entering without at once looking forward to 1789; the embarrassments of the crown and the administration bringing to an abrupt close a government which had been so long absolute and uncontrolled; the deputies of the several orders assembled undertaking at once to supersede the absolute government by taking power into their own hands; good and moderate men hoping to predominate, and conduct the reform so as to save at once the crown and the country; demagogues, at the same time, contriving to organise and to wield the power of the lower classes, manifested in insurrection first, in murder afterwards; princes of the blood flattering and favouring the popular passions, and trying to turn the ascendancy of the people and the demagogues to their own account; the nation, disgusted at these scenes of political turpitude and folly, diverted from them by the stern necessity of providing for the defence of the country against the foreign foe, this necessity producing a resuscitated respect for the authority of a sovereign, and leading the country and its opinions back to the very same point from which they started at the commencement of the revolution — the maintenance of absolute power. Such is a sketch which

* Philip of Navarre always protested against his brother the king's alliance with the citizens. He would never come to Paris, nor fraternise with the townspeople. These *communes*, said he, *ont nul arret certain, no fixed object.*—See *Froissart* and *Secousse.*

unfortunately applies to every attempt made by the French to establish their national liberties, and which is as true of the events of the fourteenth as of those of the eighteenth century.

The King of Navarre was greatly disappointed and incensed at the death of Marcel and his betrayal by the Parisians, and he resolved to punish them. He removed his own quarters from St. Denys, pillaging and burning the abbey ere he left, and posted himself at Melun, his sister Blanche surrendering to him the castle; the rest of his forces he despatched, under his brother Philip, to Mantes. They were thus masters of the Seine, which was important during a season of scarcity and famine. With the sums that the Navarrese had extorted from the regent and obtained from Marcel, he was able to retain the mercenary bands of soldiers, chiefly Hainaulters, Brabançons, and Walloons, who seemed to grow, not diminish, in number and importance. Strongly posted on either side of Paris, the King of Navarre then extended his sway over the north to the sea. He took Creil and other towns, as so many stages, or as a chain of connected fortresses, terminating in St. Valery, which he had occupied as a seaport. He also endeavoured to get possession of Amiens, and had won over to his interest some of the chief citizens; but the commonalty partook of the sentiments of the Parisians in distrusting the King of Navarre, so that his troops which had already occupied the suburbs, were driven from them, and those citizens proved to have favoured the king were decapitated.

Notwithstanding the overtures of the King of Navarre to Edward the Third, this prince entertained a profound mistrust of that unscrupulous chief. He therefore declined breaking the truce, or leading a warlike expedition to the support of the Navarrese or the subjugation of France. He relied upon the efforts of the captive king, John, to bring about an

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accommodation, which would release him, and to effect which the papal legates were making daily efforts. In addition to that section of the land of France which St. Louis had promised to cede to Henry the Third, Edward demanded Normandy, as well as Calais, in direct sovereignty; for he had adopted the same principle as the kings of France, that the kings of England could acknowledge no superior, and do no homage to any potentate. Before these conditions of peace, consented to by John, were brought to France, the King of Navarre and the regent had been reconciled. The former had lost the support of the townsfolk, and could only preserve that of the mercenary bands by large payments. The nobles and the regent had, moreover, had the advantage in several encounters. They had taken St. Valery, slew De Picquigny, and would have inflicted a signal defeat upon the Navarrese, had not the town of St. Quentin refused passage to the royal troops. The King of Navarre therefore agreed to another reconciliation, which, however, proved of no relief to the country, the bands which he dismissed from his service overrunning the land and pillaging the towns. The eastern provinces of Champagne and Burgundy, hitherto little visited by war, were tempting fields of pillage to the mercenaries. They burned Auxerre and Epernay; took the strong castle of Roucy, with the count in it; but, fortunately, the bands were always willing to ransom the nobles, or cede the castles which they captured, for money.

Early in 1359, a little before the truce was formally to expire, some of the French nobles, who were captive in England, were sent to France with the draft of the treaty. It was not in the regent's power to accept or refuse such conditions without the acquiescence of the two powers of the state — the nobles and the town population. The King of Navarre joined in thinking that nothing could be done without the consent of the states.

They were summoned to Paris, few members, in the anarchic state of the country, being able to proceed thither. The conditions of peace were, however, announced to the Parisians; and the people, as well as the nobles around the regent, protested with indignation against the enormity of the sacrifice. The cession of Normandy would have brought the English once more to Mantes and to Andelys, so that those temporary ravages of war, which the mercenary bands now inflicted on the country up to the gates of Paris, would have been rendered permanent. With one voice, therefore, court and capital rejected the concessions that King John had made, and plainly declared that it was better the monarch should remain a captive than the monarchy be so cruelly dismembered.

Edward, who thought he had demanded but fair terms, was very wroth at this rejection; and he at length prepared, what it would have been far more profitable to have done immediately after the battle of Poitiers, — he raised an army wherewith to overrun France, and defeat whatever armies its regent might bring against him. Edward and his expedition did not, however, reach Calais till the end of October, by which time the knights and soldiers of the Low Countries, who had flocked thither to join him, were exhausted in patience and in pocket. The English king marched to Rheims, the west of France being too completely devastated to furnish provisions for an army. The season was too advanced for a siege, and the rain fell in torrents, so that Edward kept his army in the convents around Rheims; nor did he leave it until the following January, when he entered Burgundy, and approached Chalons. The Burgundians and the duke saw no mode of escaping the devastation of the English army but by entering into an agreement with its chief. It had, indeed, become the habit for the people of the French provinces to escape the rapine and violence of the mercenary cap-

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tains by paying them periodical sums. The Duke of Burgundy treated with the English on this footing, and stipulated to pay Edward at Calais, at several epochs, the sum of 200,000 *deniers* of gold or *moutons*, as the coins were called. The county of Nevers entered into a similar engagement. After his bloodless campaign, in which only one person perished*, Edward marched by the course of the Yonne to Paris. He encamped on the hills between Bourg La Reine, and Chatillon, within view of the capital, to the gates of which he more than once marched, with his army in three divisions, prepared for battle. None but skirmishers came from out of the gates; and the regent paid no attention to a challenge that Edward sent him. He burned the suburbs on the south side of the Seine, those of St. Germain des Près, Notre Dame des Champs, and San Marcel, lest the English should lodge within them. Edward, not prepared to undertake the siege of Paris, although he threatened it for the following season, retired upon Montlhery, burning it, Lonjumeau, and all the villages around. It was a melancholy Easter for the Parisians.

"The intention of King Edward," says Froissart, "was to enter the rich vale of the Beauce, and proceed through it to the Loire, and thence to Brittany, whence, being refreshed and reinforced, he might return, about the time of vintage, to lay siege to Paris." The regent, his uncle, and brother, adds the same authority, "saw that this could not last long, for neither church nor landed proprietor could obtain any rent." The French therefore sent envoys after Edward, whom they found at a village called Bretigny, in the vicinity of Chartres. The English king was bent on obtaining those terms to which John had consented, and which had been rejected

* Et notandum quod in toto illo viaggio non periit quisquam nostrum præter quod dominus Thomas de Morrens percussus est medio de una *gunna*.—*Knighton.*

in Paris, and this obstinacy gave few hopes of an accommodation. The Duke of Lancaster is then said to have represented to him the great cost of the war, in which, however the soldiers gained, monarchs lost. Edward, he said, might expend a life in compassing what he desired. The Duke of Lancaster recommended Edward to accept the terms which the French offered; for, after all, concluded the gallant counsellor, "we may lose in a day what we have been twenty years in conquering." No words could depict better than these of the Duke of Lancaster, in Froissart, the relative positions of the two powers or crowns upon the continent, where the French king, having all the opportunities of aggression at hand, whilst the means of defence for the English must come across the sea, was always able to retrieve disaster.

Edward was induced to redemand Normandy, as the ancient possession of his house, and as within a few hours' sail of English succour; but Normandy and the Seine in English hands rendered Paris untenable, and the French monarchy a nullity. What the English king aimed at was indeed an impossibility. It was to crush and partition that kingdom of France which had started up of itself by a kind of natural growth, and to which, at that time, all the French were bound, as the link of their nationality, the centre of their tongue, their pride, and their existence. Had Edward more of the advanced knowledge of after times, he would have confined his demands to the south, added Languedoc to Guienne, and, by giving Aquitaine to one of the princes of his house, formed there, perhaps, a monarchy which might have vied with that of the north.

Edward still insisted on having Normandy, when, in the midst of the negotiations, says Froissart, there arose a storm, with thunder and lightning so dreadful, and with a shower of stones so portentous, that the boldest were frightened. Edward, in the midst of it, stretched

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out his arms to Our Lady of Chartres, the steeple of which is still the prominent object of the plain, and vowed that he would yield terms of peace. It is probably this storm that Knighton alludes to when he states it to have occurred upon the march, and to have destroyed all the horses of the army.

The first treaty concluded between the Kings of France and England as feudal equals, was thus signed at Bretigny on the 8th of May, 1360. Edward waived his claim upon Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. But Poitou, Angoulême, Xaintonge, Cahors, Agen, Périgord, the Rouergue, and the Limousin, with all south of those provinces to the Pyrenees, including Tarbes, were ceded in full sovereignty to the English king. The county of Ponthieu, Montreuil, Guise, and Calais, were ceded in the north. The ransom of the king was fixed at 3,000,000 of golden crowns, or 6,000,000 of English nobles. On the payment of 600,000 crowns, the French king, who was previously to be brought to Calais, should be set at liberty; and the remaining payments should be made of 40,000 crowns at a time. Hostages were to be furnished until the term of total payment. Of all the ceded provinces the barons and lords were to do direct homage to the King of England, who was to be sole sovereign as in his own domain, recognising no superiority, homage, *resort*, or subjection whatever. The King of England, at the same time, waiving all right to the throne of France, was to claim no homage of the Counts of Flanders or of Brittany. John of Montfort was to be restored to his county of Montfort; and the rival claims of the count and of Charles of Blois were to be decided by the two kings,—each holding what he held until the time of such decision. Philip of Navarre and the heir of Godfrey of Harcourt were to be restored to their possessions, and all exiles were to return without being molested. The King of France was to lend no aid to the Scotch, and

the King of England made a similar stipulation with regard to the Flemings.

The difficulty with the French for the consummation of this treaty was the payment of the first instalment of 600,000 crowns. It was got over by Galeas Visconti, Duke of Milan, who paid the money as the price of a marriage between his son and Isabella, daughter of King John. It was the necessities of the peace of Bretigny that first drove the French royal family into connection with the Dukes of Milan, — a connection which drew after it many consequences. The first and principal conditions of the treaty being thus accomplished in October, King John departed from Calais, and journeyed on foot to return thanks to Our Lady of Boulogne for his deliverance.

The treaty of Bretigny is considered by French historians as the degradation of their crown. Yet as an award between Plantagenet and Capet, it was no more than fair. John was merely compelled to disgorge a certain portion of what Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair had more stolen than conquered; and at the same time to abandon a feudal superiority, which had also been filched and magnified by trickery and chicane. Such, no doubt, were the views of Edward. But the French, even of that time, began to entertain far higher and juster ideas of national right than those which were attached to the mere patrimony of monarchs. From the Garonne, and even from the Mediterranean, to the Meuse, a race had sprung up, with a common language, identical interests, and a kindred feeling of patriotism, then best expressed by allegiance to the reigning crown. It was painful and humiliating to the Poitevin and the Picard to be torn from the great family to which he appertained, and made over to a distant monarch of another race: the province, instead of remaining the peaceful portion of a large and well defined kingdom, being transformed into a frontier, eternally exposed to the

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ravages and the exigences of war. All the population naturally and justly desired to be French—not the subjects of England; and, however the valiant efforts of English monarchs and men, together with the dissension between classes and princes of the French, obstructed and adjourned the accomplishment of these desires, they were too strong ever to be definitively overcome. The tendency of these provinces to rebecome French, resembled a tide that had ebbed, but which flowed back with irresistible force. The attempts to oppose it were like the orders of Canute to the ocean, bidding it recede; and even the glorious Edward experienced, before the laurels of Poitiers had faded, or the ink of the treaty of Bretigny was dry, that France, within its natural boundaries, had become a body national and a body politic, of which it was impossible to sever limb from limb without first crushing the life from out France and the French altogether,—a catastrophe not even to be conceived or contemplated, much less accomplished.

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CHARLES THE FIFTH, OR THE SAGE.

THE humble attitude and distracted condition of France before, and still more after, the treaty of Bretigny, are generally attributed to the victories of the English, and these again to the incapacity of the French monarch and noblesse. Yet John, unlike his English namesake, was a brave soldier and a resolute prince, nor could the noblesse be accused of wanting manly virtue. The truth is, it was the system that broke down. Absolutism and centralisation, or rather the premature attempts at both, were alone to blame for the anarchy, the helplessness and the disgrace, into which the country fell, and for the misery and the peril it endured and incurred.

The effort, at first partially successful, to attract all power to the capital, and vest it in the hands of the King and of his parlement, or court of functionaries, had destroyed all local authority, and abrogated military organisation and strength. It delivered the townsmen and even the rustic classes from the jurisdiction in many cases, perhaps, from the tyranny and oppression of the feudal noblesse. But the royal seneschals and officers, like the prefects of the declining Roman empire, from whom they were derived, however enlightened in the judgment-seat, and vigilant as financiers, were powerless to organise, to discipline, or to command the military manhood of the country.

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Efforts were made to institute a financial system, on a basis different from the feudal, and to raise money upon town-population, and landed-proprietors indiscriminately, wherewith the military as well as the civil exigences of the state might be met. The States-general were in consequence summoned to sanction and to facilitate the levy. But the abuse made of the royal authority in altering the coin, wasting the revenue, and not providing for the defence of the state, prompted the burgess politicians to imitate their brethren of England, and endeavour to control the royal power. The attempt to achieve such a revolution, not in accordance with the noblesse, but in defiance of the other classes of society, and moreover by the instrumentality of crime, disgusted the nation, and restored the uncontrolled supremacy of the crown, at least in Paris. The noblesse also recovered or retained a large share of power. The hostility of the townsfolk, and the still more inveterate hatred of the peasant displayed in the *Jacquerie*, alarmed them. The gentry began universally to arm and to fortify, to retain followers, and to exercise once more a feudal or semi-feudal authority over the rustic population, and even over smaller towns.

The collection of the royal ordinances for these years contains a multitude of charters or grants made by local lords, seen and approved of by the king.* In previous years, such documents would have run exclusively in the sovereign's name. The first act or clause of these charters is to emancipate the people from serfage, and from *corvée*. Their labour and their persons are declared free, on the condition of their paying a certain *cens*, or rent. The male inhabitants are bound to follow the lord to war, and to perform this duty within the district or for the existence of one day's march without remuneration, being entitled to pay for service more distant or more lengthened.

Here takes place once more that opening for the

lower classes to rise, which is produced by a demand for the peasant's arm in war. This had been stopped and prevented, when the noble families closed their ranks against the ignoble, monopolised to themselves the practice of arms and the defence of the state, and when they ordained that even wealth should not ennoble the *roturier*. The middle class refused to serve in an inferior rank, and the consequence was, the enlistment of the rabble to form the infantry of the army. Under such circumstances France was conquered and trodden down. The kings abandoned raising what were called armies, but empowered the gentry and noblesse to raise each what force they could. Hence the charters of the nobles emancipating their serfs, in order to form bands of partisans, so at once to repel an enemy, yet dispense with the costly and destructive service of the companies of mercenary soldiers. Nor was it the casualties and requirements of war alone, which rendered the military service of the peasant so indispensable and valuable. The mortality of the population, great during the war, and continued by ravages and famine, was after the peace undiminished in consequence of the reappearance of the plague. And almost all the towns and districts of the kingdom, taxed in proportion to their number of hearths, represented these emblems of family existence to be less, often by one half, than they had been during the reigns of the Valois.*

* The ravages of the English armies and of the mercenary bands must have greatly contributed to make the French peasantry congregate in villages, and to drive them from isolated dwellings or cottages on estates. This forced association of the lower and rustic classes in villages, where their dwellings could not be so contiguous to the field of labour, must have led to the desire to be rid of *corvée*, and at the same time to the facilities for getting rid of it by a *cens* tribute or rent paid by the little community. At the same time, what the lords and the state were anxious to obtain from the villages was military service. They had long dispensed with the arms of the peasant contributors to the national defence, but now they were again obliged to have re-

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The townspeople at the same time profited by the demand for middle and lower class aid. They had already begun to organise their defence, and no longer in hatred, but in alliance with the noblesse. Whilst the king or his lieutenant maintained the executive authority in the larger towns, lesser ones submitted to that of lords, in both cases the sheriffs retaining judicial power, and only applying to the lord for the execution of the sentence.* The townsfolk waived political power and even military command, whilst they retained judicial and fiscal freedom. And these liberties being connected with the institution of Provincial Estates, threatened to bring back France from an absolute monarchy to one based upon federalism. These tendencies, retrograde as French writers are apt to call them, were necessitated by the defence of the country. No doubt, they yielded again to the influence of absolutism, as soon as that defence was permanently achieved and secured. But the noblesse at least recovered a vast amount of privileges, which they retained for centuries; and for the moment, that is, in the fourteenth century, they recovered much of that local authority, of which they had been deprived in the thirteenth.

This resumption of influence by the gentry in each

course to it. But this implies the abolition of serfage, and the raising of the rustic peasants to all the attributes of freemen. This took place largely at the time, as the ordonnances attest. It has been remarked how futile were the edicts of previous kings to emancipate serfs, when there was no opening for their service in war, and no capital to enable them to become tenants in peace. There were many causes, too, that led the labourer both to desire to pay rent instead of service, and be able to pay it, whilst other simultaneous causes rendered the lords more anxious to be paid in money than in labour. The ravages of war and its expenditure, soldiers being paid in coin, rendered provisions and agricultural products dear, and money more plentiful with the peasantry. The gentry at the same time, who all took military service, abandoned many of the residences of their family, and lived in the camp or the suite of princes. *Cens*, or rent, to them was more desirable than service.

* See, in the *Recueil des Ordonnances*, the charters given to Busency, to Commines and to Chaigny.

province, necessitated the re-establishment of the higher or princely aristocracy. The machinery of absolute monarchy had become completely disarranged. The royal seneschals were powerless, unless they added personal weight to their delegated functions. In order to levy money, raise troops, secure the adhesion or support of a province, the local authority was requisite of a chief who knew the province, and could command the respect of the nobles, as well as the support of the middle classes. A prince of the blood could best do this. Edward III. found it necessary to establish his son, the Black Prince, over the Gascons, who would obey no lesser vicegerent. The Duke of Anjou was for the same reason made governor of Languedoc. And when the old line of the Dukes of Burgundy failed, John and Charles raised their son and brother Philip to that important dignity. This is made, by modern French writers, a great reproach to both, as if they wantonly derogated from the policy of the Philips, and broke up the unity which these had established. Charles, however, was not a monarch to part with or delegate authority, if he himself could have exercised it. But the centralised government raised and attempted by the legists of the previous century, had become impossible. The provinces were not given away by the crown, but had fallen from it. Not only had each province its estates, such as Burgundy, Languedoc or Champagne, but counties such as Artois, and even districts like the Cotentin, assembled in their three orders apart, and voted their local subsidy for the ransom of John or the defence of the country. In order to stop the progress of this subdivision, it was necessary to have a royal and a princely vicegerent on the spot. And the kingdom was divided into governments and duchies, less from royal caprice or predilection than from the irresistible necessities of the times.

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Great difficulty was experienced on both sides in

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accomplishing even the first conditions of the Treaty of Bretigny. Considerable naval rivalry had sprung up during the war; so that the towns and the nobles of the French coast, La Rochelle and the population of Xaintonge, showed the greatest reluctance to rebecome English. For this shut out them and their ports from their natural communications with the interior, and placed them at the mercy of their rivals beyond sea. There existed another reason for the dislike of both towns and feudal chiefs to be compelled to transfer their allegiance and pay their homage to a new master. It was that this act of homage was necessarily accompanied by very heavy fees, which mulcted towns and nobles, and thus forced them to compound for every change of government.* No wonder that both protested against being made over to a foreign sovereign; and declared that though compelled to do lip-service to the English monarch, they still remained French at heart.

On the other hand, Edward, evacuating the fortresses and towns, which he held in the territories ceded to John, could not but disband the garrisons of mercenary troops. These collected in companies, persisted in hoisting the English or the Navarrese standard, and proceeded to war and pillage on their own account. The greatest number of them mustered in Champagne, under the name of the *Tardvenus*, or *Last Arrived;* and wasting the country, gradually moved south, first to Dijon, and then along the banks of the Soane. John ordered Jaques de Bourbon, then in Languedoc, to collect what forces he could muster to put down the brigands. These had taken post, to the number of

* The circumstances of the Black Prince summoning the nobles and townsfolk of Guienne to do him homage, as holding the duchy in fief of his sire, and his making both classes pay *les frais des hommages* due to Edward as sovereign, and to himself as feudal chief or duke, are preserved in the archives of Guildhall. — See *Collection Générale des Documens Français que se trouvent en Angleterre, par Jules Delpit:* Paris, 1847.

16,000, on the hill of Brignais, a few miles from Lyons; in which city Jaques de Bourbon assembled a far larger force, his van-guard under Cernolles, the Arch-priest, as he was called, numbering alone 16,000. The companies on the hill appeared not more than a quarter of their real number, their chief force being concealed. Jaques de Bourbon, therefore, ordered an instant attack. The companies received the French with showers of large stones, of which the hill they occupied was a heap; and so vigorously were these missiles plied, that they kept the attacking army at bay, and even threw them into some disorder, when of a sudden the greater part of the force of the companies advancing in close column with their shortened pikes, "thick and bristling as a brush," says Froissart, took the royal troops in flank, and completely defeated them. Jaques de Bourbon and his son were so severely wounded that they subsequently died. The Arch-priest, also badly wounded, was taken with the greater part of the nobles present at the battle. The companies profited by the victory to capture the fortress of the Pont-St.-Esprit, which rendered them masters of the Rhone. From thence they made plundering excursions in every direction, especially towards Avignon, in which Pope and Cardinals were obliged carefully to keep themselves confined. His Holiness tried the old manœuvre of preaching a crusade. But the noblesse were not to be tempted by papal indulgences to fight another battle of Brignais. And the brigands remained entire masters of that part of the country, until the Marquis of Montferrat hired their services against Milan. Nor was the west of France more tranquil. Bands from Brittany and Gascony ravaged both sides of the Loire; so that the communications between Paris, Orleans, and Chartres were completely intercepted.

Towards the end of 1361 the young Duke Philip of Burgundy expired, leaving no issue; his marriage with

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the young heiress of Flanders not having been consummated. The duke possessed not only Burgundy, but Franche Comté, Champagne, Artois, and Boulogne. Remote from England and from any alliance or intrigues hostile to the crown of France, the dukes of Burgundy had always been regarded by their sovereign relative with favour and without jealousy: hence their agglomeration of so many provinces by marriage. The old stock descended from the first Capetians was exhausted, leaving merely claimants who derived their rights through females. An ancestor of Duke Philip had three daughters, to whom the succession now reverted. The eldest had been Marguerite, the unfortunate queen of Louis Hutin, whose daughter, married to the King of Navarre, had conveyed to the representative of that family the best right to the Burgundian succession. King John, descended from the second sister, would admit no right to the King of Navarre, nor yet to the Count of Bar, descended from the third sister. John pleaded that he was nearer of kin than Charles of Navarre to the duke just deceased; and thus made use of the same claim to Burgundy that Edward the Third had done to France. John hastened to Dijon and installed himself there as duke, taking a solemn oath to respect all the privileges and rights of the duchy. Artois and Franche Comté returned to the Duchess Dowager of Flanders. John had no intention of uniting Burgundy to the crown, which he well knew would displease the Burgundians, accustomed from time immemorial to their native dukes and provincial independence. The truce which they concluded with Edward before the Treaty of Bretigny, is a proof how loose were the ties which bound them to Paris. John, therefore, some time after gave the duchy of Burgundy to his youngest son, Philip, who had been constantly by his side during the battle of Poitiers and his subsequent captivity. King John, indeed, assigned this reason for the gift. It was

fully acquiesced in by John's successor; and thus was founded that brilliant house of the Dukes of Burgundy of the second race, which reigned from the Scheldt to the Alps, and overshadowed and endangered the monarchy of France itself.

Desirous as John had been to escape from captivity, and to resume his power as king, he no sooner entered again upon the royal functions than they wearied and disgusted him; and his anxiety for the few remaining years of his reign was how to escape from them. These duties were neither pleasant nor glorious. His task was to persuade the populations between Loire and Garonne to fulfil the treaty of Bretigny, and surrender to the English. To rid the rest of his dominions of the mercenary companies was equally difficult. To raise money for the exigences of the state and for his own ransom was as impracticable, so unusual were the requirements, and so disinclined were the people to contribute to what seemed to be the national disgrace. In 1362, King John paid a visit to the Pope at Avignon, leaving his son Charles regent; and here he lingered during the whole winter and a greater part of the summer, engaged in pleasure more than in policy. For his assuming the cross along with the King of Cyprus at Avignon was rather a pretext for banqueting and ceremony than the prelude to serious enterprise. Nevertheless, this served as an excuse for demanding and expending money, which the regent, Charles, required for the defence of the kingdom against the Navarrese.

The King of Navarre, to whom fresh wrong had been done in the disposal of the Burgundian succession, was preparing for war, hiring the companies, and stirring up the English partisans. And whilst John was endeavouring to accomplish the stipulations of the treaty of Bretigny, several of his sons and nobles were already looking to a breach of them by a revival of the war. Many of them pined in England as hostages, although

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well and generously treated by Edward. This monarch allowed four of the French prisoners to inhabit Calais, and to make excursions from it of three and four days at a time. These prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans, of Anjou, of Berri, and of Bourbon. The Duke of Anjou seized the opportunity of one of these excursions to make his escape and return no more to resume his place as hostage. Such a forfeiture of his faith and word was highly displeasing to King John, who made his evasion a pretext for paying a visit to the English court. Some of his barons sought to dissuade him from a step so imprudent. But John declared the King of England and his family, one and all, too full of loyalty and honour to take advantage of such an act. John, therefore, journeyed to England at the commencement of 1364, and met with the welcome and the feasting which he loved, at the Savoy and at the palace of Westminster. In the midst of these festivities the French king was seized with illness, and expired in the April after his arrival.

With John departed the spirit of chivalry from the breast and councils of the French monarchs for a long interval. Such a sentiment, indeed, rarely actuated the Capetian princes even in the most chivalrous age. But the first kings of the House of Valois had re-introduced it; they had lived, fought, and thought with their noblesse; and could they have applied and observed the feudal principles of justice to those nobles, their reigns would not have been marked by disaster and convulsion. But Philip the Fair had bequeathed to his namesake of Valois the great wrong of despoiling Robert of Artois. Then followed the equally unfair treatment of the House of Navarre; and finally, the murder, without trial or explanation, of any powerful enemy that displeased the prince. Philip of Valois caused Olivier de Clisson and his brother Bretons to be thus massacred. Charles of Navarre followed the

example; John retaliated upon Harcourt, and murder thus became the law and practice of the land. Such crimes were the very negation of chivalry and honour, and proceeded from that overweening idea of royal right which the legists had introduced from Byzantium, and which placed the monarch above every law of feudal or of civil justice. The Church, or its chiefs, which should have been able to interfere and recall the rulers of Europe to principles of humanity and the habits of civilisation, had unfortunately itself practised wholesale murder, and avenged itself upon its foes both without law and without mercy. It could, therefore, no longer preach that Christian morality and justice of which it had so utterly lost sight. And thus two of the great and destined elements of civilisation—the Christian and the Roman tradition—were perverted, to render feudalism more barbarous and man more ruthless and sanguinary.

John was sincerely anxious to complete the stipulations of the treaty of Bretigny, and to live, not only on fraternal terms with the kings of England, but even to respect the accord with Navarre, concluded under their auspices. But no sooner had Charles the Fifth, son of John, succeeded to the full authority of king, than he resolved to oust Charles of Navarre from the towns of Mantes and Meulan, which he held on the Seine as part of the county of Evreux. Charles was of retired habits and weakly temperament. Like Louis the Fat, he had had a malady in youth (some said it was poison), from which he never fully recovered, always remaining pale and sickly. Louis the Fat had shaken off a similar langüor by activity in the field; but Charles the Fifth of France betook himself to books, and lived principally in his cabinet. He fitted up three stories in one of the towers of the Louvre, which he filled with books and translations, one of which was the Bible. If astrology formed a portion of his studies, policy alone seemed to dictate his resolves.

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The time was little in accordance with these peaceful habits. Its unquiet spirit, the civil war in Brittany, the expeditions of the English, and the enterprises of the Navarrese had made soldiers of almost every gentleman as well as of a great many of the inferior classes. The military seemed to start up as the only profession, that of the Church having considerably declined, and lawyers and civil functionaries being thrown into the shade. To get rid of the companies of mercenary troops did not suffice to quiet the kingdom. The lesser gentry had lived and fraternised with these professional soldiers, and acquired their restless nature as well as their unscrupulous and rapacious habits. Such men were the Captal de Buch, a Gascon in the English service, Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman in the service of Charles of Blois. The rules of warfare adopted by such partisans were no longer those of chivalrous and great leaders, like the Black Prince, who marched at the head of large armies, offered and accepted battle at any disadvantage, and disdained to owe victory to falschood and treachery. Mustering with small bands, the French being then incapable of more than local efforts, these hardy chieftains gained by craft and surprise what force could not enable them to achieve; and partisans like Du Guesclin, though always defeated when they embarked in great war or risked a drawn battle, still won in detail or in small encounters what they lost in more serious war, and recovered for France, by skirmishes and surprises, all the provinces and most of the renown which it lost in battles and campaigns.

The first exploit of the new reign was achieved by these partisans. The object was to recover Mantes and Meulan from the King of Navarre. Du Guesclin and Boucicaut, collecting about 500 horse, pretended to attack Rolleboise, also upon the Seine, the castle of which was held by some Belgian mercenaries. Boucicaut, with about 100 of his horse, rode at full speed to

the gates of Mantes from Rolleboise, and demanded admittance, in order to save themselves from the mercenaries who, they declared, had defeated them before Rolleboise, and who were pursuing to exterminate them. The Mantois, though at first mistrustful, opened the gates to Boucicaut and his small troop, which took care not to enter all together, till some of Du Guesclin's band had joined them; and these were no sooner in than, to the cry of "St. Yves du Guesclin!" they rushed to master the town, pillaged it from one end to the other, and slew all who made resistance. The people of Meulan, who had no suspicion of a troop of soldiers coming from Mantes, which they did not know had been taken, opened their gates still more readily, and their town was captured in a similar manner.

The King of Navarre no sooner learned this declaration of war than he summoned John de Grailly, Captal de Buch, to Evreux, and hired the services of John Jovel, an English captain of free bands. These, to the number of about 1500, came to an encounter with nearly an equal number of the partisans of France, near Cocherel, in Normandy. There were Gascons on both sides; and while the Captal de Buch led the troops of the King of Navarre, the Sieur d'Albret, and other great Gascon lords, supplied a third of the French, so little was the English monarch master of the province he had conquered or of its noblesse. A trait, equally characteristic of the time, was a dispute in the French ranks as to who should command; for the new king seemed to exercise no power in this respect. The noble knights of the army were for having the Count of Auxerre as commander; the soldiers put more trust in Du Guesclin. Finally, the latter took the command. The captal, being in possession of a hill, was for keeping the advantageous position; but John Jovel would fight, and the captal was obliged to descend and engage the combat with him. It was gallantly fought

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on both sides. Du Guesclin had ordered thirty well-mounted knights to direct their efforts towards the one aim — that of surrounding and carrying off the Captal de Buch, without striking blows or joining battle. This order they successfully executed; and the partisans of Navarre, who hitherto had stood their ground, so that neither side could boast having the advantage, gave way. John Jovel fell, and the French remained masters of the field.

Charles' coronation at Rheims was gladdened by these unusual tidings of military success. He created Du Guesclin Count of Longueville in Normandy, and ordered the war to be prosecuted with vigour both against the King of Navarre and against De Montfort in Brittany. Charles' brother Philip, now Duke of Burgundy, led a large army of his new vassals westward; but troubles in his own duchy recalled him. And the task of deciding the civil strife in Brittany, and finally putting down De Montfort, was entrusted to Bertrand Du Guesclin. This partisan brought a thousand lances to Charles of Blois at Nantes, where they were joined by the nobles of Normandy and the Bretons. When John of Montfort, then engaged in the siege of Auray, heard of the army that was mustering against him, he besought the aid of the Prince of Wales at Angouleme. The Prince, seeing that the French king openly aided Charles of Blois, permitted John Chandos to take two hundred lances to the aid of De Montfort. These armies, of about equal numbers, three thousand knights, with proportionate infantry*, on either side, commanded by John Chandos and Bertrand Du Guesclin, both the competitors for the dukedom, John de Montfort and Charles of Blois, being also present, met on the plain near Auray towards the close of September (1364). Each army was divided into three divisions,

* Cuvelier estimates the French at 4000.

and John Chandos set aside five hundred knights as a reserve under Hugh Calverly, to succour any division that might be broken. The English archers began the battle, but not with the fatal effect which these missiles had at Crecy and at Poitiers. The French, says Froissart, were too well armed and protected for the arrows to affect them. Seeing this, the archers flung down their bows, mingled with the armed infantry, and seizing the axes of their foes, plied them ably as fearlessly, and with much more agility, than the mailed knight. This use made of the axe in preference to the sword, as well as the powerlessness of the arrow, evinces that armour had been rendered much more solid and impenetrable. It was a hand-to-hand and stubborn fight, a struggle of ferocity and strength, in which the French and the Bretons of their side, says Froissart, did not so well keep their array as the English, and the Bretons in their alliance. The French accordingly gave way, some mounted their horses and fled; the more valiant were struck down, slain, or made prisoners. It is evident from the narrative of Froissart that each knight on the English side was aided by his followers, whilst the French knights called in vain upon theirs, who were engaged in a separate part of the fray. Du Guesclin was taken; Charles of Blois slain. And, as the pursuit took place during eight long leagues to Rennes, few escaped. All the nobles of the party of Charles of Blois were swept from the field; the victory of Chandos was complete. The result was the recognition of De Montfort as Duke of Brittany by the French king, to whom he did homage; the widow of Charles of Blois being endowed with the Duchy of Penthièvre, and her heirs being appointed to succeed in Brittany in case of the failure of those of De Montfort. As Edward of England gave his full consent to his son-in-law, De Montfort, thus being reconciled to Charles and doing him homage, the King of Navarre felt that

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he had no longer a support. Edward, indeed, neither liked nor trusted Charles the Bad, of Navarre. The latter also came to an agreement with the court, giving up the towns on the Seine, and receiving Montpellier in exchange; the county of Evreux and the Cotentin he retained. His claim to the Burgundian succession was referred to the arbitrage of the Pope, the received mode, at that time, of shelving and definitely adjourning any difficult question.

Whilst the rival princes, who contended upon French soil, were thus universally reconciled and pacified, the soldiers and captains they had employed were by no means so. Warfare had become a profession, which unfitted men for any other. The sturdy peasant who had procured a breastplate and an axe, and become accustomed to live by pay and plunder, could no longer return to the plough. Not only had these mercenary soldiers and the professional captains fallen into the habit and licence of freebooters, but even the gentry themselves were incapable of repose. Private war, for mere feud's sake, or tournaments for pride and vaunt, had declined. Gain had become a consideration far more potent than renown; and greed and rapacity raised and moved those armies which in previous centuries had mustered and marched under the impulse of chivalry or devotion.

There were some good folks then, however, as there will be at all times, who imagined that the same motives and the same traditions must ever continue to actuate mankind, and that one century ought, by right, to be but a reproduction of that which has just expired. These men went about preaching a crusade. The King of Cyprus was the most interested party, and a worthy colleague of the late King John. He had at heart the recovery of his paternal dominions in the East; he succeeded in raising a respectable army, which he transported to Alexandria, capturing a portion, and

destroying the entire of that flourishing city. The only result of his conquest, according to Walsingham, was that the wonted market for the interchange between East and West being destroyed, every species of transmarine produce became so dear that commerce and purchase were suspended. The Emperor of Germany, as well as the Pope, nevertheless, laboured to accomplish a crusade which would have at least for its result, the liberation of France from the military companies. It succeeded so far as to induce the Arch-priest, as one of the captains of these brigands was called, to march eastward as far as the Rhine. But the other companies derided the scheme of an expedition to the Holy Land; and those who had set forth returned to their "chamber," as they called France, and resumed their habits of existing by pillage.

The Pope, who from his defenceless state in Avignon was peculiarly at the mercy of these lawless bands, exhumed the idea — of old, familiar and profitable to the Church — of a home crusade. "There was then a king in Castille," says Froissart, "called Don Pedro, full of marvellous opinions, and rudely rebellious to the commands and ordinances of the Church, especially in being tolerant both of Jews and Moors." Pope Urban, on this account, considered Pedro a fitting and convenient victim. He had offended France and its royal family by his treatment of Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, whom he had married, and whom he was accused of having put to death. He had, moreover, an illegitimate brother, who had been driven from Castille by Pedro, who served in the military companies, and was animated by feelings of vindictiveness towards the Castilian king. It was considered no difficult task to place this illegitimate brother, called Henry of Trastamare, on the throne of Pedro. The latter, known as the Cruel, was detested by his subjects as well as neighbours. A kingdom so little remote, to be conquered

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and ransomed, was sufficiently tempting, not only to the companies, but also to adventurers of a superior class. An expedition was therefore organised without difficulty. The nominal command was given to a youth, Jaques de Bourbon, with the mission of avenging his sister, the murdered wife of Don Pedro; but the real authority lay with Bertrand Du Guesclin, who, the prisoner of John Chandos since the battle of Auray, was now liberated at the price of a hundred thousand francs, paid conjointly by the King of France, the Pope, and Henry of Trastamare. John Chandos was also asked to be of the expedition, but he had higher than mercenary views, and declined. Sir Hugh Calverly, however, and several of the Gascon chiefs of the Prince of Wales' following, accepted similar offers, and joined Du Guesclin, notwithstanding the prohibition of King Edward.

Bertrand Du Guesclin led the assembled bands down the course of the Soane and Rhone. The expedition being announced as a crusade, generals and soldiers required the papal blessing, and marched, not altogether as suppliants, to Avignon to receive it. The Pope, as he afterwards pleaded, always received payment for such religious boons; but Du Guesclin and his bands, on the contrary, insisted on having 200,000 gold pieces as a part or an accompaniment of the papal blessing. The Pope made many protests, and showed great reluctance; but he was told that the army contained a multitude of reprobates who made little account of the papal blessing, but who would be rendered honest and zealous crusaders by the money. According to the poet Cuvellier, who celebrated the feats of Du Guesclin, that commander, even when paid, was discontented at the moneys having been levied upon the people of Avignon, and insisted on having it from the Pope's own coffers. The story may tell honourably for Du Guesclin, but the Pope must have known what, and how to levy, and no

doubt indemnified himself for what the crusaders unceremoniously took.

At the head of 30,000 of these mercenaries, Du Guesclin advanced by Montpellier and Narbonne, and over the Pyrenees, into Aragon, the king of which received them with open arms, as his allies against Castille. From Aragon the companies sent a derisive message to Don Pedro, saying they were pilgrims, bent on a crusade against the Moors of Grenada, and asking him to furnish provisions for their passage. Don Pedro, for reply, called upon his subjects to aid him in repelling the invaders; but so unpopular was he, that his Castilians refused to obey the summons, and the companies under Du Guesclin met with no resistance whatever. The result of this bloodless campaign was the installation of Henry, called Trastamare, as king of Castille, and of Du Guesclin as his constable.

As for Don Pedro, he fled to Andalusia, and embarking thence, stopped for a space at Corunna, and despatched a messenger to the Prince of Wales at Bordeaux, to represent his forlorn condition and the injustice with which he had been ejected from his kingdom by the French, who had enthroned his illegitimate brother in his place, and who, in his name, of course, was disposing of the resources and the navy, then considerable, of the first kingdom of Spain. Don Pedro followed close upon his messenger, and landed at Bayonne, where he was well received. The Prince of Wales, by the advice of his counsellors, Chandos and Fenton, summoned a parliament of the barons of Aquitaine, with whom the first anxiety was to learn the opinion of King Edward. That monarch highly approved of his son's undertaking to replace Don Pedro on the throne, and deprive the French and Du Guesclin of Castille. The Gascon nobles did not object; they only cared for pay and profit, and of this Don Pedro promised a large amount when he should recover

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Castille, the Black Prince offering himself and his exchequer as guarantees. The alliance of the King of Navarre was then secured at a certain price. Such of the companies and their chiefs as were attached to England were recalled. At first the Prince of Wales demanded of the Gascon lords all the troops they could furnish. But though he melted his plate and received a large sum from England, he found himself unable to meet all the expenses of the expedition. He therefore begged the Sieur d'Albret, who had engaged to furnish a thousand lances, to bring no more than two hundred. At this the Gascon lord was wroth, and threatened not to come at all. Froissart relates this as the cause of the House of Albret subsequently turning against the English, but D'Albret had already served against the English, and had fought against Chandos in the battle of Auray. There were fierce jealousies, it was evident, between English and Gascon; and the natural preference and confidence shown by the Prince of Wales to the former, aggravated the jealousy of the latter, and caused them already to look towards the King of France.

In February, 1367, the Black Prince mustered 22,000 men at St. Jean Pied de Port, 17,000 of whom were heavily armed, and about 5000 Welsh and English archers. The Gascons accompanied him under Armagnac and D'Albret, and some Bretons under De Clisson. Crossing the pass of Roncesvaux, which the King of Navarre opened to them, Edward reached Pampeluna, with great difficulty obliging his men to respect the neutral or friendly territory through which they passed. The King of Navarre, however, managed to escape from his compromising position as an ally, being captured, with his own connivance, by the French.

From Pampeluna the Prince advanced to the Ebro, at Logrogno, whilst Don Henry assembled his forces at San Domingo. These were considerable, 70,000,

according to the poetic chronicle of Du Guesclin. This chieftain had been to the court of the Duke of Anjou in Languedoc, and of the King of France, as soon as he learned the Prince of Wales' designs, and had brought a reinforcement of 4000 French knights. Besides these and his Spanish men-at-arms, Henry of Castille had 20,000 light-armed infantry and 40,000 soldiers of his towns, chiefly those of Seville, Toledo, and Burgos. It was, indeed, one symptom of the hopelessness of Don Pedro's final success that the townsfolk were, to a man, against him, whilst he is represented as especially vowing vengeance against them.

Notwithstanding his 70,000 soldiers, Du Guesclin and Maréchal d'Andreghen advised the Castilian prince not to fight a battle with the Prince of Wales, whose troops were irresistible in such encounters, but to confine his efforts to holding the mountain passes and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. Henry was too chivalrous to adopt such tactics at the head of forces triple those of his antagonist. He even sent a regular challenge to the Black Prince, to appoint a day and place for the battle, which Edward expressed himself most willing to assign.

The encounter took place on the 3rd of April, between the towns of Navarrete and Najfra, and much nearer to the latter, although it is generally called the battle of Navarrete, from Froissart, who depicts it as fought in its immediate vicinity. The first division of the army of Don Henry consisted of his foreign auxiliaries, the French, who formed his real strength. These, commanded by Du Guesclin, were attacked by the English, under John Chandos and the Duke of Lancaster, the contest being long, fierce, and undecided. Chandos was thrown down in the thick of the fight, a heavy Spaniard, Martin Ferrand, falling on him; but whilst down he contrived to poignard his adversary, and rose again into the action. The Black Prince

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himself led the attack against the enemy's centre, commanded by Don Tello, Henry's brother, and consisting chiefly of Spaniards. These, not able to bear the shock, took to flight; and the English prince, dividing his force, sent a part to take the division of Du Guesclin in flank, whilst with the rest he confronted Don Henry and his town militia. These made use of slings, whilst the English archers poured in arrows much more thick and deadly. The tactics of the English appear, from Cuvelier, to have been first to attack on foot, and then, when the enemy were somewhat in disorder, to mount their heavy-armed horse and drive in amongst them.* Henry of Trastamare led his men three times to the charge, but was unable to withstand the weight and valour of his antagonists. The Spaniards being put to the rout, the English closed around the French division, of which all were either slain or made prisoners. One of the orders of the Black Prince before the battle was, that no one should kill Du Guesclin; and accordingly that gallant chief once more surrendered himself to John Chandos, the Maréchal d'Andreghen being taken with him. Notwithstanding the great number of armed knights engaged, not more than 570 were found dead on the field, whilst of the infantry there were 7500. Don Henry escaped, to the great disappointment of his brother Pedro, who proposed taking vengeance by the slaughter of his prisoners, till he was stopped by the Prince of Wales. Thus, with ten years' interval between each, this great and fortunate captain won three of the greatest battles in European

" Le banière au Castal fièrement s'aprocha,
Et venoient à pie; nul cheval n'i mena
Hors mis chevaux couvers, si que dit on vous a,
Qui a l lez se tindrent regardant c'en fera;
Car les chevaux armés qu'ainsi estoient la
Pour percer la bataille, quand temps il en sera."
Cuvelier, Chronique de Du Guesclin.

annals: Crecy, in 1346; Poitiers, in 1356; and Navarrete, or Najfra, in 1367.

Notwithstanding the desire of the English king, that the Peace of Bretigny should prove durable, and the reluctance of the French monarch to come to an open breach with Edward, the state of war, we have seen, remained uninterrupted. The struggle in Brittany first, in Castille subsequently, was but a continuance of the antagonism, if not between France and England, at least between the partisans of the two countries. And even in the intervals of these wars, the mercenary bands exercised ravages in the name and under the banner of England, of which country the greater number of the chiefs were natives, and persuaded the French people and gentry that such acts of hostility were prepared and abetted by the English court. Charles complained to Edward, who first endeavoured to put a stop to the ravages of the bands by written orders. When these were despised, he offered to march against them, and put them down; but the mere offer so alarmed Charles the Fifth, that he hastened to deprecate it; and this manifest token of mistrust annoyed Edward so much, that he declared he would not again interfere, though France were plundered from one end to the other.

But the true causes of the want of solidity in the treaty of Bretigny was, that it ran counter to the interests, the pride, and the wishes of the inhabitants of the ceded provinces. It is always a vain attempt to hold the littoral of a great country, including the mouths of its principal rivers, whilst the course of those rivers and the rich provinces of the interior remain in the hands of a different and, of course, a hostile government. For the English to hold Bordeaux and La Rochelle, and the coast of France from the Pyrenees to the Loire, and from the Somme to Flanders,—thus to cut off the French provinces and people of the interior from their natural communication with the country's seaboard and with

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the ocean,—was unnatural and impossible. Not only the inland provinces suffered from it, but the maritime districts as well as the seaports rebelled.

There was not only community of interests between the maritime and central provinces of France, but there was now community of tongue and of pride. The men of Poitiers, Angoulême and Abbeville, were as much inspired by the feeling of French nationality as those of Paris or Orleans. To subject these to an English prince, and to his English commanders, officers, or courts of law, was an utter impossibility. The great victories of Edward and of the Black Prince violently separated the west from the centre of France, and compelled the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigny; but the people, far more than the sovereign, were certain to break such a treaty at the first opportunity.

Neither was the wisdom nor equity of the English princes such as to compensate to the French for being thus rudely severed from their compatriots. The Black Prince is certainly one of the noblest characters in history. England has not done justice to the commander who won three of the greatest victories in European annals, with skill and sagacity as well as courage. Whilst the French have hymned and, within their own circle, immortalised Du Guesclin, England has not bestowed an epitaph upon the Black Prince, or upon Chandos, more than once the victor of Du Guesclin, and at least his equal. The English prince, though one of the bravest and noblest personifications of chivalry, was but a bad politician. He was expensive, reckless, ready to engage in war more for love of adventure than reasons of policy. As lord of the south of France, he might perhaps with success have introduced English institutions, might have summoned to Bordeaux, not only the Gascon nobles, in order to consult them, and require their aid in war, but he might have called the delegates of the good towns, hearkened to them, and en-

dowed them with larger municipal liberties and greater freedom of all kinds than the court of France would have allowed. This would have attached at least the middle class to English jurisdiction; but Edward thought of none of these things. If his father had reigned a constitutional prince, it was owing rather to the energetic and persevering remonstrances and resistance of his subjects than to the king's respect for either freedom or its charters. The prince had learned at his father's court the inconvenience rather than the love of popular institutions. He governed his portion of France, therefore, after the feudal ideas of the age, and did not shrink from levying increased taxes without obtaining the consent of citizen or noble.

Although the political views or science of King Charles of France were not much more advanced — for what Christine de Pisan records of both is sad and empty pedantry — he was still far more prudent and conciliating than the English princes. Timid of temperament, he well knew that he could not command the attachment of chiefs or barons by leading them in the field, he was therefore lavish to them of honours and rewards. His efforts were especially directed towards corrupting the lieges of his English rival. He heaped wealth and honours on the Captal de Buch, and the Gascon noblesse had reason to know how much more generous a sovereign Charles was than the Edwards.

It cannot be said that the French king was more favourable to the middle classes or their liberties than the English. He made no large grants of municipal freedom: to such towns as he captured, or desired to win from the enemy, he gave, indeed, their ancient privileges; but his policy was rather that of Philip the Fair and other French monarchs, to satisfy the desires of the middle classes, and do for them what he would not permit them to do for themselves. To Paris he was especially attentive, making taxes there lighter than in

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provincial towns, and allowing the citizens the same rights as nobles in the purchasing and holding of land, as well as such marks of dignity as wearing the golden spur.

As has been before observed, the civic classes in those days, though not recovering political rights, maintained judicial independence. The sheriffs were allowed the authority of presiding in court and passing sentence. This did not produce tranquillity in such towns as Tournay, where there was a permanent feud between *moyens* and *menuz* — in other words, as Tournay was a manufacturing town, between master and employed. In 1366 King Charles issued a decree, setting forth, that as the people of Tournay could not be at peace as long as they formed *corps* and *commune*, whilst in other towns governed by royal officers there were no commotions, Tournay was condemned to lose its municipal charter and its civic judges. The result of this edict seems to have been to drive away the artisans and diminish the population, for another edict afterwards appeared permitting and facilitating Flemish artisans to come, settle, and work there. Judicial rights were restored to the mayor and sheriffs to try all causes under the value of forty sous; and, later, the *commune* itself was restored. But the experiment sufficiently showed French despotism and Flemish prosperity to be incompatible; and the repugnance of a free people to tyranny proved on that side a more insurmountable barrier to French extension than either Alps or Pyrenees.

But however the manufacturing and trading population of the Flemish towns preferred their municipal freedom and over-sea communication with England to passing under the dominion of the King of France, the townsfolk of Angoulême, Limoges, and La Rochelle vastly preferred French to English jurisdiction. The Gascon nobles, if better treated and more trusted by Edward, might have remained true to him; but he evidently preferred his English followers. After the Spanish war

came pecuniary embarrassment. The Black Prince had passed his word for the payment of all the knights whom Don Pedro had engaged; and Don Pedro, when re-established on the throne, instead of redeeming his word, retired to Andalusia, and left those who had won a kingdom for him to indemnify themselves as best they might. A prince less scrupulous or honourable than Edward would have taken the kingdom or ransomed its cities; but the English prince withdrew to his own side of the Pyrenees, covered with renown and debt. To meet the latter he promulgated an increased tax upon each Gascon hearth. It was not greater, nor even so great, as the hearth money levied in France; but the Gascon lords were indignant at such a result of an expedition in which they had fought and conquered, and they secretly appealed to the French king. Charles deprecated their hastily flinging off their allegiance; he dreaded provoking the energetic hostility of the English king, still more, encountering his heroic son in the field. He was informed that the one was growing benumbed with age, and fettered by those political entanglements which he knew so well how to shake off in his prime. The Black Prince, though he crossed the Pyrenees to the campaign of Najfra in perfect health and vigour, had returned struck by a mortal disease; whether it was owing to the climate or to poison none could affirm; but the latter was most probable. King Charles determined to await until the energies of the English king and prince were extinguished in the grave; and, in the meantime, he resolved to buy up at any price all their followers and friends. Thus to the Sieur d'Albret he made the sacrifice of giving him his daughter in marriage, a match so disproportionate to a mere Gascon lord. Olivier de Clisson, the Breton foe of his family, he purchased with similar condescendence and great prodigality. Attracted by such examples, great numbers of the Gascon noblesse repaired to Charles's

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court, to continue their abode there, and never ceased to press the King of France to tear asunder the treaty of Bretigny, and recommence hostilities with the English.

Froissart, apparently with great truth, depicts the fears and reluctance of Charles, with the incessant incitations of the Gascons, who declared that they would have recourse to some other suzerain if he would not aid them. Charles strove to gain time, and appease their impatience by money. Whilst giving them hopes and encouragement, he at the same time sought to tranquillise Edward, by continuing to pay the instalments of the late king's ransom, for one of which there exists a receipt as late as November, 1357, Edward, meanwhile, issuing orders to the chiefs in his service not to attack the French or invade their territories. But under the colour of preserving peace, Charles was allowing time and opportunity for the hostages, many of them princes of his own family, to escape from England; which most of them did, by breaking the most solemn oaths, as well as the rules of chivalry. The rival crowns could not but afford each other numerous causes for provocation. Du Guesclin had returned to Spain, and enabled Henry once more to overthrow Don Pedro: he did more; a meeting was managed to take place between the Spanish princes, when the brothers sprung upon each other, struggled, fought, and fell together. Don Pedro had got Don Henry down, which gave him the advantage. Du Guesclin, who was present, made one of his followers seize Henry by the leg, draw him from underneath, and place him over his brother. Don Henry took advantage of the position thus given him to draw his poignard and kill Don Pedro. History has seldom recorded a more disgusting and nefarious scene, in which one regrets to find Du Guesclin an actor.

English interests, thus crushed south of the Pyrenees, were equally sacrificed in the north. The king had for many years previous arranged the marriage of his son

Edward with the heiress of Flanders. Charles was able to hold this marriage in suspense by his influence over the Pope, who refused the necessary dispensation. The Duke of Burgundy was another suitor in the same degree of affinity to the Princess of Flanders. The Pope, however, did not hesitate to grant to France the dispensation he refused to England; the popes during the whole century having been but the valets of the French kings. The English marriage was broken off, and the Duke of Burgundy became thus the heir not only of Flanders, but actual possessor of Lille, Douai, and Orchies, which Charles ceded to the Flemings in order to conciliate them. The declining years of Edward, the lost energies and sinking health of the Black Prince, gave the French hopes that they might renew the struggle with advantage. The experience of the last war had taught that however invincible the English were in battle, they still wanted the skill or the power to capture towns; without effecting which, permanent conquest was impossible. By enduring English ravages, therefore, by avoiding great battles, and limiting resistance to the defence of fortresses, the employment of small bands, and the capture of towns by treachery and intrigue, Charles hoped, and with justice, to carry on successful, if not glorious campaigns.

But as the mode of warfare which he contemplated was pusillanimous and mean, so were the subterfuges and the arguments with which he sought to represent his cause as just, and the war as warranted. In the treaty of peace its confirmation by the Pope was set down as necessary to render it valid; and it was to be followed by solemn renunciation on both sides,—by Edward of his claim to the crown of France, by Charles of his pretensions to suzerainty over the lands held by the English king upon the continent. These renunciations were appointed to take place at Bruges on a certain day. The fact of one party sending commissioners with requisite

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power, being held to render the renunciation binding on the other. There is proof in Rymer that Edward did appoint commissioners; but owing either to the non-appearance of the French, or of some other neglect or omission, the formal renunciation did not take place.*

Special pleadings or legal cavils were, however, unworthy of great monarchs in a case like this. Suspension of hostilities and consequent peace were avowedly granted by Edward in the career of victory, the French nobles suing for it, and the English king yielding from commiseration and remorse at the horrors of war. That peace, as Edward told his parliament, had been "favourable and profitable to the kingdom of France." For Charles, therefore, to take all the advantage of peace, to avert the perils of war whilst the English king was in the prime of his health, force, and success, and at the same time to recruit his own strength, resources, and armies, and then when he found the English off their guard, their princes in sinking health, and the opportunity favourable, to point out a flaw in the treaty, and, not contented with this flaw, support it by the most barefaced falsehood †,—this was conduct disgraceful to the prince, unworthy of the nation, and calculated to excite that indignant feeling, that sense of being duped rather than conquered, which urged the English nation and its future kings to the impolitic and unfortunate resolution of renewing at once the war and the claim of the British monarch to the throne of France.

The chicane by which the treaty was declared invalid was worthily followed up by the insult of summoning

* The circumstances of the case cannot be more clearly or more fairly stated than by Hallam. — *Middle Ages*, chap. i. part ii.

† The French Court of Peers declared, in direct contradiction of record and fact, that the sovereignty of the French crown, and its right of jurisdiction over the ceded provinces, were expressly reserved in the treaty of peace. "One cannot comprehend," fairly and justly observes Mr. Henri Martin, "the aim of so flagrant a lie, when there were abundance of valid, or at least of specious, reasons to allege for the rupture of the treaty of peace."

the victor of Crecy and Poitiers to appear and answer before the court of peers the complaint of his Gascon subjects. The prince answered indignantly that he would obey the summons, and come to Paris at the head of 60,000 lances. The messengers who brought the offensive summons were at first allowed to depart in peace; but, on the prince learning that they were taking their way, not back to Paris, but were proceeding on some errand to the Duke of Anjou, in Languedoc, the chief provoker of the war, he sent and had them arrested. Soon after the Counts of Comminges and Perigord committed the first act of hostilities, by waylaying the English seneschal of Rouergue, and overwhelming his small escort.

King Edward, on learning the summons of the King of France to his son, was still reluctant to believe that war was seriously meditated; and Charles was anxious to uphold him in this opinion until he had completed the corruption of the citizens of Abbeville. But no sooner had the townsfolk of Ponthieu been by bribery and promises brought to consent to receive French troops within their walls, than Charles flung off the mask and sent a valet over the channel to declare war. At the same time with the messenger arrived the news that the French had obtained possession of Abbeville, Rue, Crotoy, and the towns of Ponthieu, which were Edward's, not merely by the treaty of Bretigny, but by hereditary right.

One of the measures by which Charles had preluded the war was the conclusion of a treaty with King Henry of Castille, by which that prince engaged to equip and send to sea a certain number of vessels, the French king stipulating to fit out a proportionate number of ships. Charles, therefore, prepared a naval force at Harfleur, which he vaunted was for the invasion of England. As his policy, however, was never to fight a battle, it is difficult to believe that he seriously meditated invasion;

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but he hoped, that by making himself master of the sea, he might intercept any succour that Edward should send to the relief of Aquitaine. The Earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, however, went thither by Brittany, while the Duke of Lancaster, with about 1000 men-at-arms, landed at Calais, and advanced towards St. Omer; on learning which, the French, to the number of 3000, broke up from Honfleur, and abandoned their mock invasion of England, which seemed merely to furnish Edward with a topic to alarm and excite his subjects, then but indifferent to French menaces or conquests. At the same time an expedition to Wales, under James Wynne, in which Charles had expended 100,000 livres, also came to nought. The 3000 men collected at Harfleur were led by the Duke of Burgundy against the Duke of Lancaster, opposite whom they encamped at Tournehem, near Guines. But as Charles gave orders that no battle should be fought, the Duke of Burgundy at last broke up his army. The Duke of Lancaster took advantage of this to march through Ponthieu, cross the Somme at the ford of Blanchtaque, and follow the coast to Harfleur. His intention was to burn the French fleet that had been equipped there. But the Count de St. Pol had flung himself into the town with a considerable force; and the Duke of Lancaster subsequently retired by the way he came to Calais, a French army accompanying but not daring to attack him. On the Garonne the year passed in skirmishes and surprises. The Duke of Berry at the head of the forces of Auvergne, the Duke of Anjou leading those of Languedoc, pressed upon the Prince of Wales, who had by no means sufficient force to oppose them. His most formidable enemy was the Archbishop of Toulouse, who came to Cahors and preached to the inhabitants so eloquently respecting the justice of the French king's cause, that he not only caused it, but sixty other towns and strongholds, to desert the Eng-

lish and receive the Duke of Berry's troops. His eloquence was great; but his listeners, says Froissart, "being more French than English, came greatly in aid of his reasoning." Charles himself was more an adept at the ecclesiastical than the chivalric mode of fighting. For he, too, and the queen made continual processions with the clergy, shoeless and barefoot, praying God to relieve France out of its long tribulation. Edward also appointed a bishop to preach to the people and demonstrate how wrong the King of France had been in renewing the war. Whether owing to ecclesiastical fervour or military skill, the French had much the best of the campaign. The Prince of Wales, unable to mount on horseback, could no longer take the field; and the gallant Chandos, whose ascendancy alone kept the Poitevins faithful, was accidentally slain in a skirmish. He wore a long embroidered garment over his armour, on which he trod, and which caused him to stumble. A French esquire seized the opportunity to strike him a sword-blow beneath the brow, which Chandos did not see, being blind of that eye. Clifford stood over and defended the body of the hero, whose death was lamented by both French and English. "For a hundred years," says Froissart, "there was no one amongst the English so full of courtesy and of noble virtue. The French greatly regretted that he had not been made captive rather than slain, for he was so full of wisdom and renown that he would have found means to bring about a peace. The English, however, lost more by his death than the French, for had he lived he would have recovered all their losses in Guienne."

In December, 1369, after that a campaign had exhausted his resources, Charles assembled his estates of churchmen, nobles, and townsfolk, to explain to them the cause of the war, and to demand their aid. Edward had convoked his parliament at the commencement of

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the war, and had re-assumed the arms and title of the King of France by their advice. The estates granted Charles the duty of twelve deniers the livre on sales, and a duty on Burgundy wine entering Paris. They voted also the gabelle, and four francs for each hearth within walled towns, one and a half for hearths elsewhere. With these funds Charles raised no large army, but merely enabled his brother to continue the war of invasion and conquest in Aquitaine, whilst he himself preserved a defensive attitude in the north. On the Belgian frontier hostilities broke out between the Duke of Brabant, who held for France, and the Dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, who opposed him. An action ensued, in which the Duke of Brabant was defeated and the Count of St. Pol slain. Edward sent the greater number of the troops which he could muster, under the Duke of Lancaster, to the Prince of Wales. Robert Knollis undertook, in 1370, with 1500 horse and 4000 archers, one of those marauding expeditions into France, which, it is almost needless to say, met with no resistance. Knollis went from Calais in July, proceeded by St. Omer to Arras, from thence to Rheims and Troyes, plundering and destroying as he marched. He burnt the suburbs of Arras and the town of Roye. He ransomed many other places, and thereby enriched himself to the great discontent of Edward. Having sufficiently ravaged Champagne, the English commander turned and followed the course of the Yonne to Paris, occupying Corbeil and Villejuif. Knollis marched thence to the walls of Paris, before which he remained five days, burning Arcueil, Gentilly, and the palace of the Bicêtre. Charles had 1200 men-at-arms within the walls, as well as a host of armed citizens; but, says Cuvellier —

> "Le bon roi Charlon qui regna sagement
> N'avait mis conseil de faire issir sa gent."

The king would not allow his partisans to go forth to combat, and Knollis, therefore, pursued his way south-

wards. Charles thought Paris not sufficiently secured on the east side, where was his habitual residence of the Hôtel de St. Pol. He therefore caused a fortress to be erected before it, and laid the first stone in these years. It was called the Bastille of St. Antoine, and became not a little celebrated as a prison. Another step to which Charles was drawn by the successful boldness of Knollis was to summon Du Guesclin to take the command, and finally to accept the office of Constable. Du Guesclin was not long in proving the confidence of his sovereign well placed, and at the same time his caution excessive. Several of the young English officers, says Walsingham, rebelled against Knollis, who proposed to withdraw into Brittany for the winter. They lingered behind him, not even in one, but in separate bands, by the advice of Mensterworth. Du Guesclin came upon some of them, in consequence, at Poutvalin, and defeated them. As Mensterworth afterwards joined the King of France, it is probable his treachery had been bought.

But King Charles' commanders had no need of fighting battles in order to be victorious; for, although they abandoned the open country to pillage and devastation, the towns were safe. Those occupied by French garrisons were true to them, whilst the inhabitants of those of the ceded provinces were always prepared to give up the towns to their compatriots, and betray the English. There was not a place appertaining to Edward which did not thus hold communication with the French king's brothers, the Dukes of Berry and Anjou. The Black Prince, who lay on the bed of sickness at Angoulême, was there startled to hear that the important city of Limoges had opened its gates to his enemies. He instantly resolved to make an example of it, as the only means of putting a stop to the universal defection of the towns. He brought his army before it, himself borne in a litter. Every thing was done and attempted by Du Guesclin and the French Dukes to molest and

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distract him. But the Black Prince remained immovable before Limoges, pressing the siege and undermining the walls. A portion of these at last fell, in consequence of the sap, and the victorious troops rushing in the breach, put the entire population of Limoges, men, women, and children, to the sword. Even Froissart is horrified at the slaughter, and says, the population fell at the feet of the prince to implore mercy, which he refused. The prince, however, could not quit his litter; and although his aim was to make an example, still such an act is so contrary to all recorded of his generous and noble nature, that it is probable he could not stop the licence of his soldiers in a city captured by storm. At all events, the massacre of Limoges remains a great blot on the escutcheon of England's first hero.

Such captures and retaliation as that of Limoges, with large reinforcements to supply garrisons, as well as to take the field, under such a commander as the Black Prince, might have delayed, if not prevented, the recovery of those provinces by the French. But every one of these failed the English cause. The Black Prince was, in a very short time after, compelled to withdraw to England, in a sinking state of health. The Captal de Buch was taken soon after. Chandos had perished, Knollis was in disgrace, and the younger men whom Edward employed were wanting in the skill and ascendancy of the Black Prince and of his valiant contemporaries. Charles of Navarre at the same time quitted what he saw to be the declining cause of the English. Had these, instead of their idle cavalcades in the north of France, marched at first their armies into Poitou, they might have turned the tide of victory. But Edward the Third, in his declining days, sent no more effectual aid to his partisans north of the Garonne than the imbecile John had done.

Ill fortune and the winds were, however, more to blame for this than Edward's remissness. The Poi-

tevins, attached to England, sent one of their compatriots, Guichard de L'Angle, to Edward; and the king immediately despatched the Earl of Pembroke, with but 500 lances, certainly, but with money to pay 3000 knights, on board of thirty-six vessels, to La Rochelle. But Charles, who had first amongst monarchs perfected the art of espionnage, knew, as Froissart says, every thing that passed, or was about to take place, at the court of Edward. When Pembroke therefore arrived before Rochelle with his thirty-six vessels, he found fifty ships, much larger and fully manned, to oppose him, commanded by the admirals of Castille, Bocanegra, and De Vacca. The Spanish vessels were well provided with cannon, with heavy iron and missiles, wherewith, from tall ships, they crushed the English in their smaller boats. The English, nevertheless, maintained the attack; and, according to Froissart, had the number or the vessels been at all equal, their superior valour would have won the day. Even as it was, they reckoned on the people of Rochelle coming to their aid and removing the disparity. But the Rochellois desired no better than that the English should be beaten by the Spaniards, and they refused to offer any aid. The English were in consequence defeated, their vessels and themselves captured, the Earl of Pembroke himself amongst them. The finance ship, as Froissart calls the vessel which bore the treasure, was sunk. The Spanish fleet sailed home with their prisoners, and the English provinces in France were thus abandoned to themselves. Du Guesclin was not a commander to allow such an opportunity to pass; he instantly attacked and took Montmorillon, Moncontour, and St. Sever. The prince and the Captal de Buch could muster but about 1500 men, with which it was impossible at once to garrison towns and keep the field. Poitiers was left without defence, and the people immediately warned Du Guesclin. The better classes

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of citizens were for keeping faith to the English, and had sent for succour to Thomas Percy; but it came too late. Niort sought to follow the example of Poitiers, and the English, in order to hold it, had to treat the citizens as enemies, and slaughter the greater number. It became impossible, indeed, for the English soldiers, diminishing in confidence and numbers, unpaid and unsupported, to preserve almost any town. Soubise, at the mouth of the Charente, an important though small castle, was held merely by its dame and a few men-at-arms. Du Guesclin sent a force to besiege it by land, whilst Ivan of Wales was to block it by sea. The Captal de Buch tried to relieve it, but his force being insufficient, he was overpowered and taken, and his important services thus lost to the English. On the news of the Captal's defeat, Soubise surrendered, as did St. Jean d'Angely and Angoulême. Saintes hesitated to follow the example, till the bishop threatened its English commander to have him slain if he would not surrender. La Rochelle alone remained of the important towns, and the inhabitants were kept from surrendering merely by fear of the English garrison of about 100 men, which held the castle.

The officer who commanded the garrison was, however, far from subtle. The mayor read to him a pretended royal letter, ordering him to muster on the esplanade along with the soldiers of the town. The commander, suspecting no deceit, issued from the castle with his men for this purpose, when the town militia, instead of drawing up with them, instantly posted themselves between them and the castle, to bar their return. There ensued a combat, but the English were overpowerd by numbers. The castle was won, and the citizens instantly sent to the French commander stating their willingness to surrender, on certain conditions however. These were, that the castle should be razed, no taxes levied within the district, the right of coinage

preserved, and the promise that they should never again be surrendered to England. The Rochellois lived to learn how utterly incompatible such stipulations for municipal liberty were with the despotic principles of the French monarchy.

The surrender of La Rochelle rendered certain, if it did not altogether complete, the reconquest of the English possessions north of the Garonne. Two or three campaigns had sufficed for this, if, indeed, the name of campaign could be applied to a war of partisans, carried on by small bands of the French, whose principal tactics were to take advantage of the disaffection of the civic class to the English, and thus make entrance by treachery and surprise into every walled place. It was not any profound political sagacity in Charles, nor any great generalship in Du Guesclin, that drove the English out ofthe French provinces between Loire and Garonne, as well as from Ponthieu — it was the French townsfolk that reversed the victories of Cœcy and Poitiers, and presented the French king once more with those provinces which he had lost. The kings and nobles, even with Du Guesclin at their head, could never have reconquered them; but when the citizens of Limoges, of Angoulême, of Poitiers, St. Jean d'Angely, and La Rochelle, were determined to shake off their English allegiance, and assume French, the legitimate possessors had not a sufficient force in the country to prevent them. The rustic classes were evidently not so hostile to the English. Cuvellier, the poet of Du Guesclin, says, indeed, that the countrypeople resumed the French yoke with reluctance: the serf was not so patriotic as the citizen. And although Breton and Gascon gentlemen in military service or command showed an unaccountable bitterness towards the English (Clisson, for example, who, although once in their service, used to slay with his own hand all the English soldiers whom he captured), the nobles of Poitou, or at least

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a great number of them, remained faithful to the last. Shut out from the coast by the defection of La Rochelle and the maritime towns, the remainder of the English partisans rallied in Thouars, where they at last made terms, promising to surrender and swear allegiance to France, if not succoured by a certain day. Such succour was impossible, for Thouars was inland, not far indeed from Saumur on the Loire; and even had the English landed, they could scarcely have rescued Thouars without a signal victory. Edward, however, was resolved to do his utmost. He had a force at Calais, ready to undertake one of those cavalcades which devastated the flat and open country of France without beneficial result of any kind, and which, if from the first directed exclusively in the defence of Poitou, might have saved it and the adjoining provinces. Edward, too late, in 1372, collected a force at Southampton, from which port he set sail, in 400 vessels, with 3000 lances and 10,000 archers. The English partisans on the Garonne, in expectation of the landing of the English king, mustered 12,000 combatants at Niort to support him. There was thus every prospect of a fresh and formidable struggle; but fortune and the wind were unfavourable to the English efforts to relieve their provinces in France. For nine weeks were Edward and his army on board, awaiting each day a wind to bear them to the shores of La Rochelle. Why Edward did not land at Cherbourg, as he did before, and march across France to Poitou, is not explained. He waited in vain for a favourable wind: it came not. The English fleet put back to their own coast, the army disbanding. The 900,000*l.* which it cost were spent in vain. The barons in Thouars did homage to King Charles, and Aquitaine was irretrievably lost. It was on witnessing the failure and dispersion of this army and expedition that Froissart put into the mouth of Edward the remark with regard to Charles — "That never monarch mus-

tered fewer soldiers, yet worked his enemies greater harm."*

In the following year Edward, instead of devising some practical means of assisting his partisans in the south, despatched Sir Robert Knollis on one of his cavalcades through France. This expeditionary army harassed the country from north to south; but met with far greater resistance and difficulty than on former occasions. The French had gathered courage from success, and Knollis was not allowed to carry on his ravages with impunity. The result of the expedition was but an immense loss of men and horses, and the arrival of the expeditionary army into Gascony, so worn and dismounted as to bring more cause of despondency than of confidence to the English party. Du Guesclin had in the meantime pressed the siege of the two towns that still held out north of the Loire. Niort was one of these. Whilst Du Guesclin was laying siege to a castle within a short distance of that town, a fierce encounter took place between his troops, amounting to 1500 men, and the English partisans of Niort. It was a hand-to-hand and desperate fight, in which the French had altogether the advantage: the consequence was the surrender of Niort, which was followed by that of Lusignan. The war thus died out between Garonne and Loire, although Cognac did not surrender for some time longer.

After the conquest of Poitou the French king and constable turned their efforts towards that of Brittany, of which the duke, son-in-law to Edward, was undoubtedly attached to England, to the support of which country, indeed, he owed his duchy; but his nobles were as warmly and decidedly French. Even such of them as had even been English partisans had ceased to be so. Charles spared neither honours, nor wealth, nor

* "Il n'y eut oncque roy, qui moins s'armast; et si n'y eut oncque roy, qui tant me donnast à faire."

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cajolery to gain the Breton noblesse; and when these saw a simple gentleman of their duchy constable of France, and when Clisson, whose family had suffered so much from Charles's predecessor, was next in military authority to Du Guesclin, the Bretons saw no dignity or promotion beyond their reach, provided they followed the banner of the *fleur de lis*. But as in Poitou, so it happened in Brittany, it was not so much to the noblesse as to the townsfolk that the constable Du Guesclin owed the conquest of the provinces. The King of France had no doubt corrupted the citizens of one province as he had done those of the other, and when the constable appeared before Rennes, it instantly opened its gates. Dinant followed the example, as did Vannes. Du Guesclin stormed other towns, and slew all he found within; so that terror added to voluntary defection. Clisson, in the same manner, murdered all whom he took at Quimperlé, from whence the cruel renegade acquired the surname of Butcher. All French Brittany (*Bretagne Gallot*), as Froissart calls it, at once went over to Charles, the *Bretagne Bretonnante* still holding for the duke; yet Du Guesclin took Hennebon, the citizens refusing to aid the English garrison, so that the latter were all taken, and instantly slain by Du Guesclin. The French were then able to lay siege at once to all the remaining fortresses that the English held in Brittany. Brest, which had but a garrison of 200 English, under Robert Knollis, the constable besieged with 6000, sending, at the same time, to invest the castle of Derval, the private property of Knollis, while Clisson beleagured La Roche-sur-Yon. The English were so few, and the arms of the French so predominant, that the garrison of the château agreed to imitate the example of the Poitevins in Thouars, and surrender, if not succoured within two months. The important city of Nantes, in which many eminent persons of the inde-

pendent party had shut themselves, offered to submit to Du Guesclin, as the king's lieutenant, on the condition that, should the Duke of Brittany return to the country, and consent to be a good Frenchman, they, the prelates, barons, gentlemen, and good towns, would agree to recognise him, and, in his name, receive a garrison of royal troops. In the midst of this truce the Earl of Salisbury appeared off the coast of Brittany, with 1000 men-at-arms and 2000 archers. With these he entered Brest, and despatched a messenger to Du Guesclin, to say that he had come to succour the towns which had entered into composition, and that to preserve them he was ready to fight at any appointed place or town, if the French would give him facilities. The constable replied that he was ready to fight, but would give Lord Salisbury no facility for attacking him, and that he should consider the beleaguered places not relieved until that was accomplished by the actual approach and success of the English army. Brest being reinforced, Knollis, who commanded there, brought succours to the castle of Derval, which the French declared to be an infraction of the truce. Instead of sending all his disposable troops into Brittany, Edward again committed the fault of despatching a large army, under the Duke of Lancaster, from Calais, to march round through Burgundy to Guienne. The bootless cavalcade in the preceding year, under Knollis, ought to have taught the inutility of such expeditions,—"*moult honorable*," says the chronicler of St. Denis, "but *moult domageux*." For the present, however, it afforded some respite to Knollis, in Brittany, for Charles recalled the constable and all the force under his command, to watch, rather than oppose, the progress of Lancaster. The French king's order, as well as the constable's tactics, were not to risk a battle. Lancaster accordingly marched to Bourges, and through the Limousin, worn more by fatigue and by a

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wet autumn than harassed by the enemy. They reached Guienne in a miserable plight, more in need of succour themselves than bringing any to the province.

The consequence was that, in 1374, the French were able to attack the southern and maritime regions of Gascony, as well as to reduce several towns in the vicinity of Bordeaux. La Rochelle and Cognac had already surrendered; and the English possessions were confined to Bordeaux, Bayonne, and the few towns which Edward had held at his accession. In Brittany the truce had been broken by both parties beheading the hostages in their power. The Duc d'Anjou began the bloody work, and Knollis retaliated by flinging from his artillery the heads of the French in his power.

The campaign of 1375 was the first that seemed to promise some success and retrieval to the English arms. The Earl of Cambridge, with some 2000 men-at-arms and 3000 archers, sailed to support the cause of the duke in Brittany. Between Calais and Boulogne, an engagement took place, much to the advantage of the English, in which the Count de St. Pol was taken prisoner. However, the Duke of Lancaster had come from Gascony, and passed into Flanders, for the purpose of meeting the Duke of Anjou, and entering into negotiations for a peace. Whilst these were proceeding, the Earl of Cambridge landed at St. Malo's, took St. Pol de Léon, and drove the French, with Clisson at their head, to shut themselves up in Quimperlé, where they were immediately besieged. As prolonged defence was impracticable, the French chiefs in Quimperlé promised to surrender, if not succoured. This succour was impossible without a battle, and the constable was little sure of victory. Moreover, Clisson, who, after Du Guesclin, was the first of French partisans, was one of those shut up in Quimperlé; and as he had beheaded every English soldier and knight that fell into his hands, he must himself in time have paid the forfeit. To save him, there-

fore, the King of France hurried the negotiations that were carried on for a truce at Bruges, where the English were ignorant of the advantageous state of the Duke of Brittany's affairs. The truce was thus concluded, and the tidings of it conveyed, as fast as couriers could ride, to the besieged at Quimperlé. Thus Clisson was saved; and the truce concluded lasted during the two years that remained of Edward's reign. Efforts were made to convert it into a formal peace, but it was impossible to do more than prolong the cessation of arms, Charles aiming at nothing less than either expelling the English altogether from France, or leaving their monarch with but the relation of a vassal. To this Edward would never again submit.

The liberation of the national territory, and the consequent suspension of hostility by continued truce, might be considered to have left the monarch leisure for the task of legislation and for regulating and perfecting his system of government. Charles did not wait for peace in order to accomplish this. Philip Augustus and St. Louis waited till they were free from the disturbances of war, in order to undertake domestic reforms. But Charles, who, instead of leading an army in person, preferred directing its manœuvres from the retirement of the Hôtel de St. Pol, devised, even in the midst of dissensions and disorders, the best means of obviating and regulating them.

Whilst St. Louis was guided in his great reforms by a strong sense of justice and of Christian humanity, Philip the Fair by greed and a love of absolute power, Charles the Fifth was impelled by the stronger motive of necessity, and by the imperative duty of renovating the strength and restoring the peace and prosperity of the nation. The reforms of St. Louis were directed against all that was disorderly, rude, and iniquitous in the feudal dispensing of justice and the oppression of the aristocracy, for which, unfortunately,

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he could find no substitute save the arbitrary authority of the crown, salutary in his hands, but certain to be abused by the weak and rash average of monarchs. But to deprive the nobles of judicial power and local authority, whilst they constituted almost the sole military force of the country, was a vain endeavour. And when Philip of Valois found himself engaged in a great national struggle with the King of England, he was almost as much compelled by necessity as induced from choice to favour the noblesse as his defenders. That noblesse, trusting too much to its exclusive prowess and its strong arm, was crushed in the fields of Crecy and Poitiers; and Charles, who, yet a youth, succeeded to the government of the kingdom, was free to fall back upon the civic classes, as alone capable, at the moment, of affording financial and military support. The middle classes assembled in the states took advantage of their superior resources and position to seize the government, and introduce those reforms which were, certainly, most necessary and just. But, as has always been the fate of the French *bourgeoisie* when they attain power, the class beneath it rose up, at first to share, and then to monopolise it. And thus the influence of civic notables gradually degenerated into that of the mob, or of the one or two leaders who knew how to acquire and keep ascendancy over it. The attempt of the non-noble classes to influence the government consequently failed, and Charles recovered the position of an absolute monarch.

After such experience, and after passing the years of his regency in subjection to the popular and the civic leaders, it was not to be expected that Charles should favour liberal or municipal institutions. He did not favour them, but he was far from entertaining, like Philip of Valois, the idea of restoring feudalism. He had, indeed, but small respect for that chivalry, which formed the worship and dream of King John. And

the great changes which Charles aimed at and achieved, was to base the military force of the empire upon some other than a feudal basis. Both gentry and citizens, indeed, declared the feudal organisation abolished, when they demanded payment for military service of more than a day's journey from their abode. For a time, indeed, the feudal and local force of the country had been superseded by the companies or mercenary bands, who, owing to the advantages of professional and uninterrupted military service, showed themselves far superior to knights in battle. The battle of Brignais proved it. Charles' efforts were to replace these, no longer with the old feudal levy, but by a permanent army, which he called *compagnies d'ordonnance*, regularly paid, not by feudal holding, and not allowed to support itself upon the country, but from the royal treasury, and bound to pay, in turn, for all that they consumed.

Such was the great creation of Charles the Fifth — an army, the first of European institutions; disorganised, indeed, and fallen to pieces under the reign of Charles' successor, but re-adopted, repaired, and perpetuated by his grandson, Charles the Seventh, who found himself precisely in the same situation with regard to the English foe, and in the same circumstances and necessities as Charles the Fifth. The efficiency and discipline of such an army depended on the regularity with which it was paid. The states of 1359, however, gave Charles a twentieth upon all sales (twelve deniers to the livre), and about the same upon wares entering the capital, and one-fifth additional on the sale of salt.* To these indirect taxes was added the direct tax of six francs a fire in towns, and two francs elsewhere. The estates, in the time of their power, had appointed also delegates to levy these taxes, in imitation of similar devices em-

* The king to have twenty-four livres each bushel of salt. — *Christine de Pisan.*

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ployed by the English parliament to control the fiscal power of their kings. Instead of re-appointing the old secretaries and *baillis* to perform these functions, Charles appointed regular fiscal officers, being the same men as those whom the states approved, but, of course, recognising none but the authority of the crown.

The civic classes throughout France bore with patience this weight of taxation, except in Languedoc, where the Duke of Anjou exaggerated it for the sake of pushing his military successes, and of completing the conquest of Guienne, as well as that he might rid the province of the ravages of the companies. But Charles also conferred upon France the great boon of having the rate and value of money fixed and certain, in lieu of the continued debasement and variation of the preceding reigns. The demand generally made by the people and by the states was, that the coin should be brought back to the value which it bore in the time of St. Louis. This, however attempted, was impossible; and in 1305 a compromise took place, by which a depreciation of one third from the value of the preceding century was accepted. Philip of Valois's debasement of the coin had passed all measure. It declined at one time to a fourth of the value which it contained at his accession. John was the first monarch who coined francs, then a gold coin worth twenty sous. The mark, or eight ounces of gold, was by him, in 1360, coined into sixty-three francs, of which the mint retained three, and gave sixty to those who had brought it. Thus the ounce of gold coined into about eight francs will give the earliest measure of that coin. At the same time silver was to gold as five to sixty, and the franc was worth twenty sous; but the sou varied in the most capricious manner. It contained nearly eighty grains under St. Louis, whilst in 1342 it contained but fifteen, in 1355 but eight, and in 1359 but two grains, although afterwards brought back to twenty-six and a half.

Although the king in all these acts of internal policy kept in view the one great aim of ridding the continent of the English, and compelling them to a peace, by which they should resign all their pretensions beyond sea, still he gladly observed and renewed the existing truce until the death of the Black Prince and of Edward himself. Charles was aware that a monarch would then succeed, whose power, wielded by his uncles, could be little formidable. To be ready for the contingency of a new and weak reign in England, the French monarch prepared a fleet in conjunction with Castille. And when Edward was on his death-bed, the French and Spaniards burnt the towns of the Isle of Wight, were repulsed from Southampton, and appeared before Dover and Calais without venturing an attack. At the same time Du Guesclin entered Gascony, and laid siege to Bergerac. Sir Thomas Fenton, the seneschal, mustering about 300 lances, sought to intercept the French convoys, when he was encountered by a body of the enemy's knights double of his own. An engagement ensued, in which the English were defeated, and Fenton taken. On the news of this defeat, suffered by almost the only English officer and force in Gascony, the rest of the towns surrendered, with the exception of Bordeaux and Bayonne.

Having thus successfully recommenced the war against England, and proved its incapacity or unreadiness to resist under an infant monarch, Charles turned his efforts towards what was equally indispensable to the security of France and the establishment of the kingdom — the expulsion of the King of Navarre from his possessions of Normandy, which were so many hostile fortresses in the heart of the kingdom. The King of Navarre was a prince who was always negotiating and never concluding. He had always a scheme on hand, an intrigue in progress, and as he was known to be unscrupulous in the means he employed, there was

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not a prince or princess of his time who happened to die or fall ill, without its being attributed to poison administered by Charles the Bad. It is surprising to find the great examples of the perfection of chivalry shine forth contemporaneous with the strongest instances of its perversion and decay. History affords no nobler specimens than the English Edwards, and no stronger negation of every chivalric principle and virtue than the French Charleses. But chivalry, as a principle and a religion, suffered at this period a collapse of well nigh a century. The degradation and oblivion of it were mainly due, as has been before observed, to the circumstance of a princely class having arisen in France, with a monarch at the head who was taught to set himself above all law and justice, a privilege which his class extended to themselves. The premature abolition of the feudal law and procedure, with the introduction of Roman ordonnances and canonical forms, had perverted justice, and with it the principles of policy, so much so that the royal family returned about this period to a state of nature, slaying each other like wild beasts whenever an opportunity occurred, and not scrupling to employ treachery and falsehood in order to compass their designs. The treatment of the Templars by Philip the Fair and Boniface displays what monarchs and popes were capable of. The first Valois had somewhat quitted the path of Philip the Fair. Whatever wrong they committed, was effected with open violence. Charles of Navarre had been the first victim, seeing his friends murdered and himself conveyed to a dungeon, in which Charles the Fifth kept him as long as he was able. The king, therefore, could not expect to find a friend in Navarre, and the latter would not trust himself as a guest at the Louvre, or in the Hotel St. Pol, if he had not at the same time a dozen eminent hostages in his castle of Evreux. Had Charles of Navarre been consistent and straightforward, could he have been true

either to the cause of the middle classes or to the interests of the Edwards, he might have taken the place of the French monarchs, as the house of Lancaster did in England; but the Navarrese was true to nothing. Had he, indeed, been guilty of administering poison to the Black Prince, as was affirmed, there was a reason for his not allying with England. But the Edwards did not credit the rumour, their objection to the King of Navarre being that he was fickle and not to be trusted.

In 1369 the aim of Charles the Bad was to get back his fortresses on the Seine, and at the same time to knit his alliance with France by a marriage of the dauphin to one of his daughters. Failing in this, he recurred to England, and Edward the Third consented to give him Limoges on his joining in the war against France. The Black Prince would not agree to this, and Charles renewed his negotiations with the court of France, and concluded a treaty at Vernon, in 1370, by which he accepted Montpellier in exchange for Mantes and Meulan. Charles the Fifth, however, chicaned about his royal rights (*droits royaux*) in Montpellier, which annoyed the King of Navarre; and the latter, after the death of both the Edwards, turned to the English alliance with the hope of marrying his daughter to the young King Richard. According to De Rue, the Princess of Wales favoured the project. A stipulation concomitant with this marriage gave Bayonne altogether to the King of Navarre, and Bordeaux and Dax to him, as lieutenant of Richard. And as recompense, Charles would have admitted English garrisons into Evreux and the other Norman towns, so as to transfer the war to these provinces.

This alarmed Charles the Fifth, and he determined to crush his namesake, getting Du Guesclin to seize his fortresses. Such severity and injustice to a prince of the blood the French monarch feared might alarm and alienate the high and princely noblesse. He apparently

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resolved, therefore, to crush his enemy at once by calumny and by arms. Charles the Bad had two agents, who were in the secret of all his diplomacy and intrigues. These were De Rue and Du Tertre. De Rue was travelling in Normandy, and about to join the Prince of Navarre, who was in Paris. Charles caused him to be seized, and, in a short time after, got possession of Du Tertre. These men had not been long sequestered as the prisoners of Charles, when a confession was elicited from both of them, acknowledging not only the intrigues of the King of Navarre with England and with the enemies of the country, but charging him directly with suborning agents to poison the king. This latter accusation was exceedingly loose, and related to intentions and conversations rather than to acts. The immediate agents employed to poison might have been sought for and examined; but, without any public trial or confrontation of witnesses, De Rue and Du Tertre were produced in a public sitting of the French parliament, and there affirmed the truth of their allegations. This confession having been obtained of them, they were instantly condemned, and hurried off to a cruel execution. It is impossible to conceive that these men, the old and hitherto faithful servants of Charles of Navarre, should of their own accord have denounced him and implicated themselves, had they not been induced to do so, first, by threats of the doom which awaited them, and then by promises that their acquiescence would avert it. This mode of proceeding, which the trial of the Templars showed to have been peculiar to the French lawyers, was in all probability practised, and then the victims hurried off to death, as the chief Templars had been, in order to ensure their silence, and cover the whole mass of treachery and falsehood. Wherever, indeed, the sentence of French court or parliament had become a matter of policy or of interest to king or state, it was impossible to give

the least credit to either the justice of the crown or the authority of the testimony. The confession of the victim proved, however, quite sufficient evidence against Charles the Bad. The king commissioned Du Guesclin and the Duke of Burgundy to surprise or force their way into his fortresses, which they triumphantly did in the course of 1378, threatening the garrisons with death if they did not surrender, and representing to the townsfolk that the young Charles of Navarre was to be their lord in lieu of his sire. When master of the towns, Du Guesclin completely dismantled and left them open, "in order that war might never more assail the King of France from any of those castles or towns owned by the King of Navarre."

The only hope of Charles the Bad was in England, for his dominions beyond the Pyrenees were invaded by the King of Castille, whilst the Norman towns were attacked by Du Guesclin. To keep the English fully employed in Guienne, a Castillian fleet blocked and besieged Bayonne, whilst the Duke of Anjou mustered an army on the Garonne, which he proposed leading against Bordeaux. The English displayed more activity than had been their wont. They despatched a force to garrison Cherbourg, which the King of Navarre gave up to their guard. Considerable reinforcements were sent to Bordeaux; and the Duke of Lancaster himself mustered 4000 lances, with which he sailed, as soon as the weather permitted, to Normandy. In September, 1378, he landed at St. Maloes, laid siege to the town, and, according to Froissart, played upon it with no less than four hundred cannon. St. Maloes was equally furnished with artillery, and with provisions for two years. The English tried to run a mine under its walls, and spent much time in the effort. Through the negligence of the Earl of Arundel, who had the control, the garrison surprised the miners, broke down the mine; and the English, thus

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left without hope of capturing St. Maloes, returned without any results of their expedition. The towns of England, in consequence, says Froissart, began to murmur against the nobles for the smallness of their exploits. If the English failed against St. Maloes, the French were equally unsuccessful against Cherbourg, the garrison of which inflicted several defeats upon them, taking many captives at one time, and slaying Du Guesclin, the constable's brother, at another. South of the Garonne, the English reinforcements checked the progress of the French; and, at the request of the King of Navarre, Sir Thomas Trivet passed the Pyrenees to the relief of Pampeluna, his capital. The Castillians, on the approach of the English, raised the siege. Trivet performed some daring and gallant acts; but when the armies were in presence, the Navarrese and Castillians began negotiations, which ended in a peace.

If the English thus saved Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Navarre, and maintained themselves in Cherbourg, Brittany was not less lost to De Montfort. Indeed, it was chiefly the knights and nobles of Brittany whom the French king employed beyond the Garonne. Charles, therefore, had Brittany to dispose of. The duke fled to England, and paid no attention to a summons before the French court of peers. He was, in consequence, declared to have forfeited his duchy. Had the king followed up the sentence by the nomination of another duke, or the recognition of the rights of the widow and offspring of Charles of Blois, he would have encountered no opposition. But Charles imagined that he might safely unite Brittany to the crown, and govern it as he did Normandy, Touraine, and Poitou. He had overwhelmed the Breton nobles with places and with honours; and, as they were exuberant of loyalty in return, and of detestation to the English, Charles, who now raised a large permanent revenue from all the provinces under his immediate rule, was indignant that

so rich a country as Flanders, for example, should produce nothing, and that it and Brittany, as well as Burgundy, should be merely ornamental appendages to his crown. Charles determined, therefore, to annex Brittany, and deprive the inhabitants of their local immunities and of their duke. The monarch charged Du Guesclin with the office of either aweing or inducing Rennes to submit to the Duke of Bourbon, who was to be the royal governor. Clisson was to perform the same service with regard to Nantes. Both were too deeply indebted to Charles to refuse, but neither disguised their reluctance nor the difficulty of the task. The Breton gentlemen began to concert how best to resist the absorption of the duchy and the annihilation of its old independence. They sent at first messages and then messengers to Duke John, who was in England; and in the meantime, the Bretons, in possession of the principal towns, refused to deliver them up even to Clisson and Du Guesclin. An association was formed under Beaumanoir, one of the noblest and bravest of the noblesse; and the citizens of Rennes adhered to it. In a little time the duke set out from England, landed at St. Maloes, where all the noblesse of the duchy, even the widow of Charles of Blois, hastened to welcome and do him homage. The cause of Charles was lost; even the vehement Duke of Anjou saw that his army could not enforce the order of his royal brother. He halted at Poitiers on the frontier of the duchy, and consented to a truce. Charles, who persisted in judging of events, and even of campaigns, from Paris or from Rouen, showed nothing but choler against the lieutenants who disobeyed him, and against the backwardness even of Du Guesclin. That warrior for reply sent the monarch back the constable's sword. But the resistance of the Bretons was not likely to remain an isolated rebellion. The Flemish citizens took up arms against their count, and, of course, against the French court, which upheld him; whilst the

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people of Languedoc rose equally in arms against the Duke of Anjou.

This prince, the first who had broken his faith as hostage to Henry, and who, in consequence, was ever after a bitter enemy of England, not a little resembled Charles of Anjou, who first bore the title. He was proud and greedy*, and for both qualities abhorred by the Languedocians. After aiding the barons of Guienne to fling off the English yoke, in order to escape a hearth-tax of half a franc in the year, he himself imposed, or his officers imposed, one of a franc for every month. The Duke of Anjou had another quality in common with his namesake that had conquered Naples. He contrived to tread down civic liberties, and as the provincial governors had now a permanent military force at command, he was less restrained by reasons of prudence. Nismes was the first city to murmur against the heavy and arbitrary taxes; the duke instantly despatched troops to put down the recalcitrants, and punished the city by depriving it of several of its civic rights. The people of Montpellier were not so patient; they had long belonged to Spanish suzerainty, and had enjoyed comparative independence. They, therefore, rose against the officers of the duke, slew his chancellor and his seneschal, as well as the commander.

This movement of the cities of Languedoc, which had so tranquilly borne the imposition of the French yoke, was not solely owing to the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. A great effervescence had arisen in Italy and throughout the entire south. The confiscation of the papal authority by France, and its absence from Italy, had compelled the nearest republic — that of Florence — to assume a kind of supremacy, not only over Tuscany, but in the Roman States; and a democratic spirit had been developed, which was communi-

* As Christine de Pisan expresses it, *haut et pontifical en maintien*, and at the same time *convoiteux*.

cated, not only to France and Spain, but to the towns on the Rhine and in Flanders. The danger which threatened the Church, from the popedom being transferred to a dependence on France, had aroused the Italian prelates as well as people, and given rise to the simultaneous existence of a French and an Italian pope. Charles the Fifth supported the French pontiff, and thus arose the great schism — with its controversies, its wars, and its horrors — which set the middle classes to think for themselves in religion as well as in politics, and thus gave great impulse to that liberal spirit which the rulers of the day naturally stigmatised as heretical and as factious. The King of Naples, then governed by France, had at first taken part with the French pope, but the universal Italian feeling was too strong even for that sovereign, and he was obliged to declare for the Italian pontiff. The French pope, in retaliation, proceeded to declare Jeanne unworthy of the crown, which he, as of old, transferred to the house of Anjou.

Thus were French and Italian politics intermingled; but the French middle classes, unlike their Italian brethren, had bowed the neck too long and too humbly before absolute monarchy to be able to throw off its yoke, especially at an epoch when it came to be represented by a king like Charles the Fifth, and supported by a standing military force. The Duke of Anjou now appeared before Montpellier with an army that the citizens had not the courage to resist. The magistrates went forth bareheaded, and with cords around their necks, to implore his clemency. It was not in his nature to show any. Six hundred of the most eminent citizens were seized, one third of whom were hanged, one third burnt, and the rest decapitated; their property was of course confiscated, and an amount of fine levied that reduced the entire city to complete destitution. Such was the return made by the French princes to the citizens of the south, that class which had ejected

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the English and made over, within the few previous years, to the French crown all the towns north of the Garonne and along its course. Charles, indeed, sought to obviate some of this rapacity and cruelty by recalling the Duke of Anjou from Languedoc, and appointing a Gascon lord, the Count de Foix, to be governor in his place; but as the Duke of Anjou succeeded soon after to the administration of the whole kingdom, this act of royal remorse or magnanimity was of small effect.

Meantime Brittany remained unpacified. Du Guesclin, having refused to serve against his countrymen of the duchy, was sent to his old task of capturing small castles in the south. He laid siege to Chateauneuf de Randon. That this little fortress, situate on the eastern range of the mountains of Auvergne which overlook the Rhone, should have been still held by English and Gascon soldiers, is a proof of the confusion of the times. The reduction of such a place was scarcely worthy of the Constable of France, if, indeed, Du Guesclin had re-accepted that office. But Charles preferred putting his brother at the head of his army to entrusting it again to Du Guesclin. This valiant warrior was seized with illness whilst engaged in the siege of Randon. The keys were brought to his bedside in token of surrender, but the gallant constable was no more. If the king had not given Du Guesclin the command against the English, he at least honoured his memory with a splendid funeral. The remains of the constable were brought to the capital, his obsequies celebrated with unusual pomp, and the body deposited with those of the royal race in the crypt of St. Denis.

The English had made strenuous efforts to succour the Duke of Brittany. A force had sailed from Southampton at the end of 1379, under the most eminent captains,—John of Arundel, Sir Thomas Trivet, and Sir Hugh Calverley. They had been unable, indeed, to reach Brittany, but were driven back, first to the coast

of Cornwall, and then into the Irish Sea, where several of the vessels perished, with the commander, John of Arundel: Calverley and Trivet escaped with difficulty. This disaster disgusted the English with proceeding by sea to the aid of Brittany; and Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, the youngest of the king's uncles, assembled an army of 6000 men at Calais, nearly one half of them men-at-arms, and at the head of them he set forth to traverse France, in order to reach Brittany by land. Their march lay through St. Omers, Therouenne, Arras, St. Quentin, and Rheims. The orders of Charles were, to lay waste the open country, the inhabitants with their cattle seeking refuge within walled towns. At Rheims the cattle were left to pasture in the fosses, under the protection of the ramparts; the English descended into them, and drove off 20,000 head. Buckingham then marched to Troyes, where the Duke of Burgundy had collected a large army. The English chief challenged him to come out and fight; the duke pleaded the king's injunctions to avoid a battle. The efforts of Charles were employed in another direction, and with the aim of closing Brittany against the English. He promised the citizens of Nantes the preservation of their ancient privileges; and the restoration of all Breton rights, if they would give this mark of attachment to the French crown.

Buckingham, in the meantime, had continued his march westward, followed by the Duke of Burgundy, who took post at Le Mans, whilst the Duke of Anjou, with the French forces of the south, was at Angers. The two dukes, at the head of 6000 men-at-arms, were double the force of the English, and they began to concert the best mode of falling upon Buckingham against the over-prudent orders of the king, or at least endeavouring to prevent any attempt on his part to pass the river Sarthe.

Of a sudden the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon were summoned from the army to Paris. The

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Duke of Anjou speedily followed them; and the Earl of Buckingham, finding the passage of the Sarthe no longer disputed, crossed the river, and proceeded, without resistance or molestation, into Brittany. The cause of the disappearance of the royal dukes was the sudden illness of the king. An issue, which he habitually kept open in his arm, having dried up, Charles felt it to be a fatal symptom. He therefore summoned all his brethren, except the Duke of Anjou, whose ambition and violence he dreaded. His other brethren Charles called to his bedside, in order to recommend to them his son and successor, then twelve years of age. He besought them to crown young Charles as speedily as possible, and thus avoid disputes about the regency; and also advised them to hasten his marriage, and to conclude such a connexion with a German princess if possible. An astronomer had foretold great perils to the youth, which the wise king thought could only threaten from Flanders. He prayed them to conciliate the affections of the nobles and good towns of Brittany, as the best way of combating the English predilection of the duke. He pointed out Clisson as the fittest person to be made constable, and urged that the weight of *aids* and subsidies should be taken off the people, in order to reconcile them to the new reign. With such wise counsels did Charles the Fifth expire, in September, 1380, at Vincennes, aged not more than forty-three.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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